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The Universal HISTORY & STATE of All Nations

From the Time of

CHARLEMAIN to LEWIS XIV

in three Volumes

by

M. De Voltaire

53588
12/1/02

Carefully Translated from the Original French

A Bell Sculpt.

EDINBURGH Printed for A. DONALDSON
at Pope's Head *opposite the* Exchange
MDCCLVIII

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THE GENERAL HISTORY and STATE OF EUROPE.

VOLUME II.

CONTAINING

PART III. From the reign of CHARLES VII. King of France, to the commencement of the reign of the Emperor CHARLES V.

AND

PART IV. From the beginning of the sixteenth century to the death of the Emperor CHARLES V. in 1556.

EDINBURGH:

Printed by SANDS, DONALDSON, MURRAY, & COCHRAN.

For A. DONALDSON, at Pope's head, opposite to the Exchange.

MDCCLVIII.

PREFACE.

MY method of ſtudying hiſtory was calculated for my own uſe, and not for the public, whom I never intended to trouble with my thoughts on this ſubject. At length a lady, the ornament of her age and ſex, whoſe extenſive genius embraced every ſubject, had a mind to learn hiſtory along with me, though ſhe had conceived as great a diſlike to it at firſt as Father Mallebranche, becauſe, like him, ſhe had very great abilities for geometry and metaphyſics. "What ſignifies it," ſaid ſhe, "to a Frenchwo-"man like me, who live here in a rural retirement, "to know that Egil ſucceeded King Haquin in the "kingdom of Sweden? or that Ottoman was the "ſon of Ortogrul? With pleaſure I have read the "Greek and Roman hiſtories; becauſe they exhi-"bited pictures to my mind drawn at full length, "which fixed my attention. But I have not been "yet able to go through any one large hiſtory of "our modern nations: for I hardly ſee any thing "in them but confuſion, a multitude of trivial e-"vents, without any order or connection; a thou-"ſand battles no way deciſive, and in which I did "not even ſo much as learn the weapons they "made uſe of to deſtroy one another. I there-"fore renounced ſo dry and unprofitable a ſtudy, "which overloads, without improving the mind."

I replied, "What if, from among ſo many "rough and unpoliſhed materials, you were to "pick out ſuch as would ſerve to erect a building "in your own taſte; if you were to leave out all "the tedious and incorrect deſcriptions of battles, "all the petty negotiations, which have been no "more than uſeleſs artifices and deceit; all the

" particular advantages, which croud the great e-
" vents; and preserving only those which repre-
" sent the manners of men, you were to make a
" general and distinct picture of this chaos; if, in
" short, in the recital of events, you were to en-
" deavour to unravel the history of the human
" mind; do you think you would lose your time?"

This idea made her change her resolution; and upon this plan I went to work. But I was soon surprised at the little assistance I found in the immense multitude of books.

I remember, that upon looking into Puffendorff, who wrote in Stockholm, and had access to the archives of the state, we thought ourselves sure of finding what forces that kingdom maintained; what number of inhabitants; how far the people of the province of Gothland had joined those who ravaged the Roman empire; in what manner the arts, in process of time, were introduced into Sweden; what were its principal laws, its riches, or rather its poverty: but of all these we did not find a single word.

When we wanted to inform ourselves concerning the pretensions of the emperors against the popes, and of these against the emperors, we met with nothing but confusion and obscurity; insomuch that whenever I committed any thing to writing, I was sure to mark the margin with these words, *Vide, quære, dubita.* This is still to be seen, in large characters, in a hundred places of my old manuscript of the year 1740; especially when I come to treat of the donations of Pepin and Charlemain, and of the disputes between the Greek and Roman churches.

Scarce any thing that has been written by western authors in regard to the eastern nations, before the two last centuries, appeared to us to have the least air of probability; and we were very sensible, that,

that, in point of history, whatever is against probability is generally contrary to truth.

The only thing that carried me through these disagreeable researches, was the discovery I now and then made in regard to the arts and sciences. This part became therefore my principal aim. It was an easy matter to perceive, that in those ages of barbarism and ignorance which followed the decline and dismembering of the Roman empire, we received almost every part of learning from the Arabs, as astronomy, chemistry, and physic; but especially we were indebted to them for medicines of a milder and more efficacious nature than those which had been known to the Greeks and Romans. Algebra was invented by those Arabs, and even our arithmetic we received from that nation. It was two Arabs, Haran and Bensaid that composed the Alphonsine tables. The Cheriff Ben Mohamed, who is styled *the geographer of Nubia*, being driven out of his own dominions, retired to Sicily, where he presented to King Roger II. a silver globe of 800 marks, on which he ingraved the known parts of the earth, and corrected Ptolomy.

We were therefore obliged to do justice to the Arabs, though Mahometans; and to acknowledge, that the inhabitants of this western part of the world were extremely ignorant in the arts and sciences, as well as in the government of states, though illumined with the rays of truth in matters of far greater importance. If a few persons have been so insincere as to censure this impartial proceeding, and have endeavoured to render it odious, they are to be pitied for being unworthy of the age they live in.

Several detached pieces of the Arabian poets and orators, which to me appeared really sublime, I rendered into French. When we afterwards beheld all the arts revived in Europe by the able men of

Tuſcany, we were as greatly charmed, as in reading the fineſt paſſages of Milton, of Addiſon, of Dryden, and Pope. I made as faithful a tranſlation as I was able, of the moſt admired pieces of the poets of learned nations, and endeavoured to preſerve the ſpirit of the originals. In a word, I preferred the hiſtory of the arts to that of facts.

All theſe materials concerning the arts having been loſt after the deceaſe of that excellent perſon, my advanced ſtage of life, as well as the diſtance I was at from large libraries, and the enfeebling of my faculties in conſequence of long infirmities, would not permit me to recommence ſo toilſome a taſk. Luckily for the public, it has been executed ſince by much abler hands; it has been profoundly treated, and methodically digeſted, in the immortal Encyclopædia. I am only concerned for the loſs of my poetical verſions of the moſt beautiful paſſages of the great poets down from Dante; for they are quite diſfigured in proſe tranſlations.

It is well known, that ſeveral perſons had copies of my hiſtorical manuſcript; there were even ſome chapters of it printed in the French mercury, which were afterwards collected under different titles. At length, in 1753, a bookſeller of the Hague took it into his head, to purchaſe an incorrect copy of this manuſcript, which a perſon of very little honour made no ſcruple to ſell him. I was then printing the firſt volume of *The annals of the empire*, and had borrowed from one of my manuſcripts of the general hiſtory of Europe, which I had found at Gotha, materials to aſſiſt me in the compoſing of theſe annals.

Surpriſed to ſee a ſurreptitious edition of my work advertiſed in the foreign gazettes, and not having as yet had ſight of the book, though it was publicly ſold in Holland and at Paris, all that I could do was to give an account in my preface to the Annals of the

the empire, of the manner in which the Dutch bookſeller had obtained an incorrect copy of my manuſcript.

At length the Hague edition of this general hiſtory came to hand; and I found it was crouded with miſtakes *. The book was reprinted at Paris with the ſame errors; when I had intelligence that they were alſo printing it, as faſt as they could, at Geneva and at Leipſic. Upon which I ſent them ſuch an *errata* as the ſhortneſs of time would permit, not having the original manuſcript in my hands, which I have ſince received from Paris.

Such repeated efforts to obtrude a work on the public, without the author's conſent or reviſal, and ſuch eagerneſs in the public to purchaſe it under this diſadvantage, are a kind of hint, that, in the main, the work is not without its utility, and lay me under an obligation of giving a new edition of it myſelf But I muſt wait a while: for it will require ſome time to reviſe the two preceding parts, ſome paſſages of which are to be found in the *Annals of the empire*. Beſides, theſe parts relate to obſcure times, which require very laborious reſearches. And it is more difficult than one would imagine, to find, in the ruins of barbariſm, materials ſufficient to build a pleaſing edifice.

All I can do then at preſent is, to give the continuation of that hiſtory till the commencement of the reign of Charles V. which ſhall be followed by the reſt, and the whole connected with the *Age of Lewis* XIV.

This is not a work of chronology and genealogies; the public is overſtocked with pieces of that ſort. It is the picture of mankind in different ages; it is the method in which a lady of ſuperior under-

* The miſtakes alluded to were rectified in the Engliſh tranſlation of that work; and even ſome corrections were inſerted, which are not to be found in Voltaire's *errata*.

ſtanding

ſtanding and myſelf made the ſtudy of hiſtory, and which every perſon of her rank ſhould be deſirous of following.

It is true, that in this volume I let the reader ſee what effect the objects I conſider have had upon my mind. But this account which I give to myſelf of my reading, with ſuch freedom and unreſervedneſs as are not to be met with in works written for public inſpection, is exactly the very thing that may be of greateſt ſervice. Every reader is by this means rendered more capable of ſettling his judgment by rectifying mine; for whoever thinks, makes others think.

For example, when Lewis XI. inſtead of endeavouring to retake Calais from Edward IV. (who muſt have had his hands full in England), purchaſed a peace, and became tributary to that prince; this behaviour ſeems to me inglorious: but it may appear extreme good policy to a man who conſiders, that the Duke of Burgundy might have ſided with Edward againſt France. Another will reflect, that the great Duke of Guiſe took Calais from Mary Queen of England, at a time when this Queen's huſband was much more formidable than the Duke of Burgundy. Another will look for the motive of Lewis's conduct, in the very character of the man. In this manner hiſtory may prove uſeful; and this imperfect ſketch may be alſo of ſome ſervice, by occaſioning reflections much better than mine.

To know that Francis I. was Charles V.'s priſoner in 1525, is only laying up a particular fact in one's memory; but to inquire why Charles profited ſo little by his ſucceſs, is the buſineſs of a judicious reader. He will not only ſee the fortune of Charles V. balanced by the jealouſy of other nations, but a ſtop put to the European conqueſts of Solyman his enemy, by the wars with the Perſians, and

and he will discover all those counterpoises which hinder one power from crushing the rest.

Thus reduced to the necessity of publishing my former studies, I console myself with the hopes that they will occasion some better performances. This method of acquiring instruction, is already very much relished by several persons, who, not having leisure to consult a multitude of voluminous details, are glad to be capable of framing to themselves a general picture of the world.

It is with this aim I sketched the age of Lewis XIV. The laws, the arts, and manners, were my principal object. A plan of this kind should never take in any minute facts, but when they have been productive of considerable events. It is a point of great indifference, whether the town of Creutznach was taken the 21st or the 22d of September, in 1688; or whether the wife of Madam de Maintenon's nephew be called her niece: but it is of importance to know that Lewis XIV. was no way concerned in the making of the will of Charles II. King of Spain, which changed the face of Europe; and that the peace of Ryswick was not concluded with an intent of making the Spanish monarchy devolve on a prince of the house of Bourbon, as had been the general opinion, and as my Lord Bolingbroke himself opined, who, in this respect, was mistaken. The domestic dissensions under Queen Anne, are not in themselves an object worthy of attention; but they become such in their consequence, by being the origin of a peace, without which France was in danger of being dismembered.

Those details which tend to no useful end, are in history the same as the heavy baggage in an army, *impedimenta*. We should view things in great, for this very reason, because the human mind is little, and

and sinks under the weight of tedious particulars: these ought to be collected by annalists, and inserted in a kind of dictionaries, where they may be found as occasion serves.

When thus we study history, we may represent the series of different ages to our view, without any manner of confusion. It is easy then to perceive the character of the times of Lewis XIV. of Charles V. of Alexander VI. of St Lewis, and Charlemain. It is on these paintings of different ages that we must fix our attention.

The portraits of particular men are generally drawn from fancy. It is downright quacks tricks to attempt to draw a personage with whom we have no acquaintance. Sallust has given us a picture of Catiline; but he knew his person. Cardinal de Retz has exhibited the portraits of the eminent persons who figured in his time; and he is right to give a picture of what he has seen and known. But how often has passion directed the pencil! The public personages of former times cannot be characterized but by facts.

I know not why the excellent translator of Lord Bolingbroke's letters charges me with having judged of Cardinal Mazarin from country-ballads. I formed no judgment of him at all; I only wrote a plain narrative of his conduct; but I give no credit to ballads. This translator will permit me to tell him, that it is he who is mistaken in regard to facts, when judging of Cardinal Mazarin: "This "minister," he says, "upon coming to the helm, "found the kingdom involved in the greatest dif- "ficulties." The contrary is exactly true. When Cardinal Mazarin came to the ministry, France was quiet at home, and victorious abroad, by the battles of Rocroi and Norlingue, and by the great success of the Swedes in the empire.

"He

" He left," he says, " the King's finances in " much better order than had been ever seen be- " fore." What a mistake! Is it not known that Charles the Wise, and Francis I. left very large sums in the treasury? that Henry the Great had forty millions of livres in his coffers, and that the kingdom flourished under a most happy administration, when his much lamented fate made room for a profuse and tumultuous regency? Cardinal Mazarin's finances were indeed in very good order; but those of the state were in such a sad condition, that the superintendant often said to Lewis XIV. " There is " no money in your Majesty's coffers; but the Car- " dinal will lend you some." The state-revenues were so badly administered, that they were under a necessity of erecting a court of justice. We see by Gourville's memoirs, what depeculations had been committed; nor were matters set to right till the great Colbert was intrusted with the administration.

" The most glorious years," he says, " of Lew- " is XIV. are those which immediately followed " the death of Mazarin, when this minister's spirit " still continued to reign." Did the Cardinal's spirit reign in the conquest of Franche-Comté, and of one moiety of Flanders, where he had restored such a number of towns? in the establishment of a marine which he had entirely neglected? in the reformation of the laws which he was ignorant of; and in the encouragement of the arts which he despised?

" Mr de V - - - - - undertakes to demonstrate, " that the Prince of Orange was not at all dreaded " in France," &c.

None but mathematical problems are demonstrated: but it is very true, that when they believed in France that the Prince of Orange, or rather King William, was killed at the battle of the Boyne, the bonfires

bonfires which the people of Paris so indecently lighted, were the effect of hatred, and not of fear. It is true that at Paris they were not afraid of being invaded by a prince, who had business enough upon his hands in Ireland, and who had been always beaten in Flanders. Statesmen and soldiers might esteem King William; but surely the people of Paris could have no reason to fear him. They might have been afraid of Prince Eugene and of the Duke of Marlborough, when these generals ravaged Champagne: but it was impossible, from the nature of things, for the inhabitants of a capital to tremble at the name of an enemy who had never once touched the frontiers of a kingdom at that time constantly victorious. The Duke of Berri might have cried as much as he pleased to the princes his brothers, "One of you is to be king of France, the other "king of Spain, but I will be prince of Orange, "and then I will plague you both." The translator of Lord Bolingbroke ought to observe, that it is possible to plague, and to be beaten; he ought to observe, that a critic may be mistaken as well as an historian; and he should have endeavoured not to be wrong in his criticisms.

At the head of the secret memoirs of the same Lord Bolingbroke, he says, "that I want to banish "facts from history." On the contrary, I should have been glad there had been facts in those memoirs, whereas there are none at all; and I should have been also glad for my Lord Bolingbroke's reputation, that these memoirs had been always secret.

Here I think it incumbent on me to mention a word concerning the edition which a critic of another kind has made of the *Age of Lewis* XIV. He has thought proper to print my work with his own notes; and he has found out the secret of making a libel, of a monument raised to the glory of the nation,

nation, by the hands of Truth: A rare instance of the temerity of the hair-brained sons of ignorance and calumny.

Learning is a soil which produces venomous as well as salubrious plants. There are wretches, who, because they know how to read and write, think they can get a livelihood, by selling slander to booksellers, instead of taking up with an honest calling; ignorant that the profession of a hackney-writer, or even of a trusty valet, is far preferable to theirs. The person I am speaking of, goes and prints this rhapsody of nonsense by the title of *The age of Lewis* XIV. *in three volumes, with notes by Mr L. B. at Francfort:* after having been justly punished for this infamous proceeding, he quickly scribbles another scandalous libel, for a few weeks subsistence. Another perceiving that the age of Lewis XIV. has had a considerable sale in every part of Europe, and that the booksellers to whom I made a present of it, found their account in it, has the impertinence to add a new volume which had no manner of relation to the work. He collects a few letters of Lord Bolingbroke concerning general history; with these he mingles some obscure pieces which he had scraped from the dunghill; and he intitles this farrago, *The third volume of the age of Lewis* XIV. The unwary purchase it, and the editor for some months enjoys the fruit of his prevarication.

In the *Age of Lewis* XIV. at the article of writers, several of whom have honoured, while others have disgraced, this memorable period, I took notice, that Holland has been infected with base authors, who have wrote libels against their country, against princes who have not the will, and against private persons who have not the power, to be revenged of them. I said likewise, that their imitators

draw upon themſelves the public deteſtation: this remark provokes theſe imitators, who, inſtead of reforming, heap libels upon libels, which, like their authors, are condemned to duſt and oblivion. Theſe vermin, who eat their way into the republic of learning, but are eaſily ſhaken off and cruſhed under feet, will never be able either to tarniſh the luſtre, or to diminiſh the ſolidity of the ſciences.

CON-

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THE

THE GENERAL HISTORY AND STATE OF EUROPE.

PART THE THIRD.

CHAP. I.

Manners and cuſtoms towards the fourteenth century.

MY inclination leads me rather to inquire into the ſtate of human ſociety, in order to diſcover the manner of living in families, and the cultivation of the arts, than to give a detail of battles and public calamities, the unhappy topics of hiſtorians, and the common places of human iniquity.

Towards the end of the thirteenth century, and in the beginning of the fourteenth, the Italians, notwithſtanding their domeſtic diſſenſions, began to ſhake off that barbarous ruſt with which Europe had been covered ſince the decline of the Roman empire. The neceſſary arts ſtill ſubſiſted. Artificers and merchants, whoſe obſcurity preſerves them from the ambitious fury of the great, may be compared to ants, which ſilently dig themſelves habitations, while eagles and vultures tear one another to pieces.

Even thoſe rude ages produced ſome uſeful inventions, the effect of that mechanic genius with which nature endows particular men, independently

of

of philoſophy. For inſtance, that excellent ſecret of aſſiſting the enfeebled ſight of old people by means of ſpectacles, was found out by Alexander Spina, towards the end of the thirteeneh century. The invention of wind-mills is about the ſame date. La Flamma, who lived in the fourteenth century, is the firſt who makes mention of them. The earthen ware invented at Faenza was made uſe of inſtead of porcelain. Glaſs-windows had been diſcovered a long time before; but they were very ſcarce, and conſidered as an article of luxury. This art was introduced into England by the French towards the year 1180, where it was looked upon as a high degree of magnificence.

The Venetians were the only people in the thirteenth century that had the ſecret of making looking-glaſſes of cryſtal. There were ſome clocks in Italy; and that of Bologna was particularly famous. The more uſeful wonder of the compaſs was entirely owing to chance; but mankind had not ſagacity enough at that time to make a proper uſe of this invention.

The other parts of Europe were far from having ſuch cities as Venice, Genoa, Bologna, Sienna, Piſa, and Florence. In the towns of France, Germany, and England, they had ſcarcely any other than thatched houſes. The ſame may be ſaid of the poorer towns in Italy, ſuch as Alexandria * *della paglia*, Nice *della paglia*, &c.

Though they had ſuch large tracts of land overrun with woods, yet they had not as yet learned to guard againſt the cold by the means of chimneys, an invention ſo uſeful, as well as ornamental to our modern apartments. The cuſtom was for the whole family to ſit in the middle of a ſmoky hall, round a large ſtove, the tunnel of which paſſed through the ceiling.

* *Paglia*, in Italian, ſignifies ſtraw.

In

In the fourteenth century, La Flamma, according to the cuſtom of injudicious authors, complains, that frugality and ſimplicity had given way to luxury. He regrets the times of Frederick Barbaroſſa, and of Frederick II. when in Milan, the capital of Lombardy, they ate fleſh-meat but three times a-week. Wine was very ſcarce; they had no notion of wax-candles, and even thoſe of tallow were deemed luxury. He ſays, that the better ſort of inhabitants made uſe of ſplinters, inſtead of candles. They had hot meat but three times a-week, and wore woollen ſhirts: the moſt conſiderable citizens gave their daughters not above 100 livres for their portion. But things, continues he, are altered; now we wear linen; the women dreſs in ſilk gowns, ſome of which are embroidered with gold and ſilver: they have 2000 livres for their fortunes; their ears are likewiſe adorned with gold pendants. And yet this luxury of which he ſo greatly complains, falls ſhort of what in our days is reckoned among the neceſſaries of the rich and induſtrious.

Table-linen was very ſcarce in England: wine was ſold only by apothecaries as a cordial. The houſes of private people were all of wood in Paris, as well as in London. It was reckoned a kind of luxury to ride in a two-wheel cart in the ill-paved and dirty ſtreets of Paris, a luxury which was forbidden the citizens wives by Philip the Fair. The following regulation under Charles VI. is well known, *Nemo audeat dare præter duo fercula cum potagio*; "Let no one preſume to treat with more than "a ſoop and two diſhes."

And yet, among the feudal lords and the principal prelates, all the magnificence prevailed which the times would permit. This was the natural conſequence of large poſſeſſions: but the uſe of plate was ſtill unknown to moſt cities. Muſſus, a Lombard

Lombard writer of the fourteenth century, looks upon silver knives and forks, as also on silver spoons and cups, as a great piece of luxury.

He says, that a man who has nine or ten in family, with two horses to maintain, is obliged to spend annually 300 gold florins; which, in our days, is about 3000 livres French.

Money was therefore exceeding scarce in many parts of Italy, and much more so in France in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries. The Florentines and the Lombards, who were the only people that carried on any trade in France and in England, together with the Jews their brokers, usually extorted 20 *per cent.* for the interest of money. Great usury is the infallible sign of public poverty.

Charles V. King of France had hoarded some treasure by his long œconomy, by the prudent managment of the crown-lands, at that time the principal branch of the royal revenue, and by the imposts invented under Philip of Valois, which, tho' inconsiderable, raised great complaints among an impoverished people. His prime minister, the Cardinal de la Grange, had but too greatly enriched himself at the public expence. All these treasures however were squandered away in other countries. The Cardinal carried his to Avignon; the Duke of Anjou, brother of Charles V. wasted the King's in his unfortunate expedition into Italy; while France continued in a miserable condition.

It was far otherwise with the great trading cities in Italy: here the inhabitants lived with conveniency and in opulence, and alone enjoyed the sweets of life. At length wealth and liberty excited the genius, as well as the courage of the nation. In Florence, Brunnelleschi began to revive the ancient taste of architecture: Giotto was remarkable for his paintings: and Boccace ascertained the Italian language.

language. Guido of Arezzo invented the new method of musical notes. In Petrarch and in Dante there are a great number of passages which resemble those fine antiques, wherein we admire the vigour of the ancients, joined to the freshness of the moderns. This I shall explain more at large when I come to treat of the arts.

For all these fine inventions we are indebted to the Tuscans only, who, by mere strength of genius, revived those arts, before the little remains of Greek learning, together with that language, removed from Constantinople into Italy, after the conquests of the Ottomans. Florence was at that time a second Athens; and it is remarkable, that among the orators who were deputed by most of the cities of Italy to harangue Boniface VIII. upon his exaltation to the holy see, eighteen of them were natives of this city. By this it appears, that it is not to the refugees of Constantinople we are indebted for the resurrection of letters: those men were capable of teaching the Italians nothing more than the Greek tongue.

But what did the inhabitants of the northern parts of Europe, or what did the Spaniards know at this time? Nothing but barbarous feudal customs, customs equally uncertain and tumultuous, together with duels, superstitions, and witchcrafts. In many churches they celebrated the festival of the ass, as well as that of the fools. They used to lead an ass to the altar, and chant out an anthem, *eh, eh, eh, Mr Ass*; *eh, eh, eh, Mr Ass*. There were idiots who walked at the head of all their processions, with a plaited gown, a little bell, and a fool's bauble; a custom which is still preserved in Flanders and in Germany. They talked of nothing but of revelations, exorcisms, and inchantments. The wife of Philip III. was accused of adultery; and the King sent to consult a nun, in order to know whether the Queen was guilty or not. The children

children of Philip the Fair entered into an aſſociation in writing, whereby they promiſed mutually to aſſiſt each other againſt all perſons that would attempt to deſtroy them by art magic. By a decree of parliament, a witch was condemned to the flames, who, in conjunction with the devil, had forged a deed in favour of Robert of Artois. The illneſs of Charles VI. was attributed to witchcraft, and they ſent for a ſorcerer to cure him. In England the Ducheſs of Glouceſter was condemned to make honourable amand before St Paul's church; and her pretended accomplice, a peereſs of the kingdom, was burnt alive as a ſorcereſs.

When ſuch ſcenes as theſe, the horrid fruits of credulity, happened to the firſt perſonages in Europe, it is eaſy to imagine what the private people muſt have been expoſed to. But this was the leaſt of their misfortunes.

Germany, France, Spain, and indeed all but the great trading cities of Italy, had hardly any ſort of civil government. The walled boroughs of Germany and France were plundered during the civil wars, and the Greek empire was over-run by the Turks. Spain was ſtill divided between the Chriſtians and the Arabian Mahometans; and each party was frequently rent by inteſtine wars. In fine, under Philip of Valois, Edward III. Lewis of Bavaria, and Clement VI. a general peſtilence deſtroyed thoſe who had eſcaped the ſword and famine.

Juſt before this fourteenth century, we have ſeen how the cruſades diſpeopled and impoveriſhed Europe. Aſcending from theſe cruſades to the times which ſucceeded the death of Charlemain, we find the ſame ſcenes of miſery with ſtill greater barbariſm. The compariſon between thoſe ages and ours ought to make us ſenſible of our happineſs, notwithſtanding that almoſt invincible proneneſs of human nature to commend the paſt in preference to the preſent times.

During

During this long general anarchy, we have seen great princes, who used their best endeavours to heal these wounds of the human race, such as a St Lewis, a Ferdinand, a Henry the Fowler, and a Henry II. of Bavaria: we have also beheld pious and upright popes. But is it any thing extraordinary, that the long quarrel between the emperors and the popes, the obstinate struggle which Rome made for her liberty, both against the German Cæsars and the Roman pontiffs, the frequent schisms, and at length the great schism of the West, should have hindered the popes, who were elected in times of confusion, from practising such virtues as more peaceable times would have inspired? Might not the general corruption of morals reach even them? Mankind are formed by the age they live in; few, very few, ever rise above the manners of the times. The flagitious attempts which several popes were almost forced into, as well as their scandalous conduct, authorised by the general example, cannot be buried in oblivion. Of what use then is the description of their vices and of their disasters? To shew the happiness of Rome, since it has been the seat of order and tranquillity. What greater fruit can we receive from the many vicissitudes of this general history, than to convince us, that every nation has been unhappy, till the laws and the legislative power have been properly settled? Whoever will examine those several ages with a philosophical eye, will find, that Rome was almost constantly in a state of anarchy, from the death of Charlemain till the reign of Charles V. The misfortunes, the infirmities, the crimes of some popes, do no more injury to religion in the minds of intelligent persons, than the misfortunes and vices of a lawful sovereign can prejudice his right to the throne.

CHAP. II.

Infranchiſements, privileges of cities, eſtates general.

IN the mean time, from ſuch a multitude of diſaſters aroſe the ineſtimable bleſſing of liberty, to whoſe kind influence the Imperial cities, and ſo many other towns, owe their preſent flouriſhing condition.

At the beginning of the feudal anarchy, almoſt all the towns were peopled rather with bondmen than with citizens; as we have ſtill an inſtance in Poland, where there are only three or four cities that can poſſeſs any lands, and where the inhabitants are the property of their lord, who has over them the power of life and death. It was formerly the ſame in Germany and in France.

The emperors began with infranchiſing ſeveral towns: and theſe, ſo early as the thirteenth century, united for their common defence againſt the lords of the caſtles who ſubſiſted by plunder.

In France Lewis the Fat followed this example on his own demeſnes, in order to weaken the lords who waged war againſt him. The little towns purchaſed their liberty afterwards of the lords themſelves, who wanted money to maintain the honour of chivalry in the Holy Land.

In fine, in 1167, Pope Alexander III. declared, in the name of a council, *that all Chriſtians ought to be exempt from ſervitude.* This law alone ſhould render his memory dear to all nations; as the efforts he made in ſupport of the liberty of Italy, ought to render his name precious to the Italians.

It is in virtue of this law, that Lewis X. declared

red, a long time after, in his charters, that all the bondmen ſtill remaining in France, ought to be ſet free; *becauſe*, ſaid he, *it is the kingdom of the Franks*. He made them indeed pay for this liberty; but could they purchaſe it too dear?

And yet the people recovered only by degrees, and with great difficulty, their natural right. Lewis X. could not oblige the lords his vaſſals to do for the ſubjects of their demeſnes what he had done for his. The huſbandmen, and even the burghers themſelves, for a long time continued in a ſtate of villenage, as they do ſtill in ſeveral provinces of Germany. It was not till the reign of Charles VII. that ſervitude was entirely aboliſhed in France, by the weakening of the lords. Even the Engliſh themſelves contributed greatly to this revolution, by bringing with them that ſweet bleſſing, liberty, the characteriſtic of their nation.

Before the reign of Lewis X. our kings ennobled ſome citizens. Lewis the Bold, ſon of St Lewis, ennobled Raoul, who was called *Raoul the goldſmith*: not that he was a goldſmith; for the ennobling of ſuch an artizan would have been ridiculous; but becauſe he kept the King's money. For theſe depoſitaries were called *goldſmiths*; a name which they ſtill bear in London, where many of the ancient words and cuſtoms of France are ſtill preſerved.

The communities of towns had begun, under Philip the Fair in 1301, to be admitted to the eſtates general; which at that time were ſubſtituted to the ancient parliaments of the nation, compoſed before of lords and prelates. The third eſtate gave their vote under the name of *requeſt*; and this requeſt they preſented on their knees. The cuſtom has ſtill obtained, that the deputies of the third eſtate ſhould be upon their knees when they ſpeak to the King, as the gentlemen of the long robe in the beds of juſtice. Thoſe firſt general eſtates or aſſemblies

were held, in order to oppoſe the pretenſions of Pope Boniface VIII. We muſt confeſs, that the condition of humanity was very wretched, when there were only two orders in the kingdom; one compoſed of the lords of fiefs, who did not conſtitute the five thouſandth part of the nation; and the other of the clergy, who were ſtill leſs numerous, and who, by their ſacred inſtitution, are deſigned for a ſuperior miniſtry, quite foreign to temporal affairs. The body of the nation had hitherto paſſed for nothing. This is one of the real cauſes which kept the kingdom of France in a languiſhing condition, by checking induſtry. If in Holland and England the legiſlature had conſiſted only of the lords ſpiritual and temporal, theſe people would never have been able, in the war of 1701, to hold the balance of Europe.

Therefore Philip the Fair, who is charged with want of probity in the article of coin, with perſecuting the templars, and with, perhaps, too violent an animoſity againſt Pope Boniface VIII. and his memory, did a great ſervice to the nation, by ſummoning the third eſtate to the general aſſemblies of France.

About this time the houſe of Commons began to eſtabliſh itſelf in England, having greatly increaſed its weight in parliament ſo early as the year 1300. Thus in almoſt every part of Europe the chaos of government was reduced to ſome order, by thoſe very calamities which had been the effect of the feudal laws. But though the people reſumed their liberty and natural rights; yet it was a long time before they could ſhake off that barbariſm, which had been the conſequence of a long ſtate of ſervitude. It is true they acquired their liberty, and began to be conſidered as men; but they were not as yet more poliſhed, nor more induſtrious. The bloody wars of Edward III. and Henry V. flung the people

of

of France into a worſe condition than that of ſlavery; nor did they begin to breathe till the latter end of Charles VII.'s reign. The people were not leſs unhappy in England after the reign of Henry V. In Germany their fate was not ſo hard in the reigns of Wenceſlaus and Sigiſmond, becauſe the Imperial cities had already acquired a conſiderable degree of power.

CHAP. III.

Of taxes and coins.

THE only thing done by the third eſtate in the general aſſembly of the kingdom, held under Philip of Valois in 1345, was to contribute to the eſtabliſhment of the firſt impoſt of the royal aid, and of the exciſe upon ſalt It is certain, however, that if the eſtates had been aſſembled more often in France, they would have acquired more authority; for under the government of this very Philip of Valois, who was become odious by the debaſing of the coin, and contemptible through his misfortunes, the eſtates themſelves appointed commiſſaries of the three orders in 1355, to collect the money which they had granted the King. Thoſe who give what they pleaſe, and as they pleaſe, in ſome meaſure partake of the ſupreme authority. This is the reaſon that the kings of France never ſummoned theſe aſſemblies, except when they could not do without them. Thus, through want of practice in examining the wants, the reſources, and the ſtrength of the nation, the eſtates general have never had that ſteady ſpirit, nor that knowledge of buſineſs for which moſt regular companies are diſtinguiſhed. As they were ſummoned but ſeldom, and at great intervals of time, they were obliged to inform themſelves of the laws and cuſtoms inſtead

of making them; in short, they were surprised and lost in uncertainties. The parliament of England assumed greater privileges, by establishing and supporting its right of representing the body of the nation. And here especially the difference of the two people lies: they both set out with the same principles, and yet their government, which at that time was quite alike, is now become entirely different. The estates of Arragon, and of Hungary, as well as the diets of Germany, had still greater privileges.

The estates general of France, or rather of a small part of France, who fought under their King Charles VII. against the usurper Henry V. generously laid a general land-tax in 1426, in the very height of the war, at a time of scarcity, at a time when they were even afraid of leaving their lands uncultivated. This impost has been continued ever since. Before that time the kings lived on their demesnes; but Charles VII. had scarce any left; and had it not been for the brave warriors who sacrificed themselves for him and for their country, and likewise for the Constable de Richemont, who had a great ascendant over him, but at the same time served him at his own expence, he must have been undone.

Soon after, the husbandmen, who before that time had paid the land tax to their lords, in quality of bondmen, paid this tribute to the King only in quality of subjects. Not but the kings of France had also levied a land-tax, even before St Lewis, on the royal patrimony. Every one knows the tax of *bread and wine*, which at first was paid in kind, and afterwards in money. The French word *taille*, signifying a *tax*, is derived from the custom which the collectors had, of marking on a little tally, what the persons liable to contribution had given. Nothing was more rare in those days, than for the common people to write. Even the very customs

of

of cities were not written; and it was this fame Charles VII. that ordered them to be reduced to writing in 1454, when he had reſtored that regularity and tranquillity, of which his kingdom had been ſo long deprived, and when ſuch a ſeries of misfortunes had given birth to a new form of government.

Here I am taking rather a general ſurvey of the fate of mankind, than of the revolutions of the throne. Hiſtory ſhould have paid more attention to the human race; here it is that each writer ought to have ſaid, *Homo ſum:* but inſtead of that, moſt hiſtorians have employed their pens in the deſcription of battles.

The affair of the mint was a point which ſtill diſturbed the public order in moſt kingdoms of Europe, as well as the peace and proſperity of private families. Each lord ſtruck his own coin, and altered the ſtandard and weight at will, doing a laſting prejudice to himſelf for a tranſitory advantage. The crowned heads indeed had been obliged, by the neceſſity of the times, to ſet this fatal example. I have already obſerved, that the gold of one part of Europe, and eſpecially of France, had been conſumed in Aſia and in Africa by the misfortunes of the cruſades. They were therefore obliged, as new wants inceſſantly preſſed them, to increaſe the numerical value of money. At the time of Charles V. after he had reconquered his kingdom, the livre was worth ſeven numerical livres; under Charlemain it had the real weight of a livre or a pound Therefore the livre under Charles V. was, in reality, only the ſeventh part of the ancient livre. Conſequently a family, whoſe whole ſubſiſtence conſiſted in an ancient ſervice, in an infeoffment, or in a duty payable in money, was become ſeven times the poorer.

We may judge, by an example ſtill more ſtriking, of

of the ſmall quantity of ſpecie that circulated in ſuch a kingdom as France. This very Charles V. decreed, that the King's younger children ſhould have an appennage of 12,000 livres a year. Theſe 12,000 livres are not worth more than 180,000 livres preſent money. What a ſmall proviſion for a King's ſon! However, there was the ſame ſcarcity of ſpecie in Germany, in Spain, and in England.

Edward III. was the firſt that ſtruck gold coin: and it may be remembered, that the Romans had none till 650 years after the foundation of their city.

The whole revenue of Henry V. King of England, was but 56,000 l. Sterling; and yet with this weak ſupply he attempted the conqueſt of France. After the battle of Agincourt he was obliged to return to London, in order to borrow money, and to pledge his jewels to renew the war. In fine, he puſhed his conqueſts rather by the ſword than by gold.

In Sweden they had no money but of copper and iron. Nor in Denmark had they any ſilver, but what had been brought into that country in very ſmall quantities by the trade of Lubeck.

In this general ſcarcity of ſilver which France experienced after the cruſades, King Philip the Fair not only raiſed the fictitious and ideal value of ſpecie; but he ordered ſome to be coined that had too much alloy. In ſhort, it was counterfeit coin; and the diſturbances which this operation occaſioned, did not render the nation more happy. Philip of Valois went farther than Philip the Fair; he made the officers of the mint ſwear by the evangeliſts, that they would keep the ſecret. In his ordinance he injoins them to deceive the merchants, *in ſuch a manner, that they may not perceive there has been any alteration in the weight.* But how could he flatter himſelf, that this fraud ſhould remain undiſcovered?

covered? And what ſad times muſt thoſe have been, when they were obliged to have recourſe to ſuch artifices! What ſad times, when all the feudal lords, ſince the reign of St Lewis, did the very thing for which Philip the Fair, and Philip of Valois, are ſo greatly condemned? In France thoſe lords ſold their right of coinage to the ſovereign: in Germany they have all preſerved it; from whence very great abuſes, though not ſo general, nor ſo fatal, frequently ariſe.

CHAP. IV.

Of the parliament till the reign of Charles VII.

THOUGH Philip the Fair did ſo much miſchief by debaſing the Sterling coin of St Lewis; yet we have ſeen, that he did a vaſt deal of good in ſummoning the burghers, who in effect are the body of the nation, to the general aſſemblies. Another great piece of ſervice he did the people, by inſtituting a ſupreme court of judicature, reſiding at Paris under the name of *parliament*.

The ſeveral writings concerning the origin and nature of the parliament of Paris, afford us but a very imperfect light, becauſe all tranſitions from ancient to new uſages are inſenſible. Some will have it, that the chambers of inqueſts and requeſts exactly repreſent the ancient conquerors of Gaul. Others pretend, that the parliament has no other right to adminiſter juſtice, but becauſe the ancient peers were the judges of the nation, and the parliament is called *the court of peers*.

This, however, is certain, that there was a great alteration made in France under Philip the Fair, in the beginning of the fourteenth century; which is, that the great feudal and ariſtocratical government

was

was insensibly undermined in the King of France's demesnes; that Philip the Fair instituted almost at the same time the parliaments of Paris, Toulouse, Normandy, and the general sessions of Troye, for the administering of justice; that the parliament of Paris was the most considerable, because of the extent of its jurisdiction; that the same Philip the Fair fixed it at Paris, and that Philip the Long rendered it perpetual. It became the depositary and the interpreter of the ancient and new laws, the guardian of the rights of the crown, and the oracle of the nation.

The King's council, the estates general, and the parliament, were three very different things. The estates general were really the ancient parliament of the whole nation, to which were added the deputies of the commons. The King's council, strictly considered, was composed of such great officers as he thought proper to admit, and especially of the peers of the realm, who were all princes of the blood. The court of judicature, known by the name of *parliament*, and established at Paris, was at first composed of bishops and knights, assisted by clerks, either ecclesiastics or laymen, well versed in judicial proceedings.

The peers must certainly have had a right of sitting in this court, since they were originally the judges of the nation. But even if they had had no such right, this would not have hindered the parliament from being a supreme court of judicature; just as in Germany, the Imperial chamber is a supreme court, though neither the electors, nor the other princes of the empire, ever sit there; and as the council of Castile is a supreme court, though the grandees of Spain have no seats in this assembly.

This parliament was not the same as the old field-meetings in March and May, whose name it retained. The peers had indeed the right of sitting in this

this court; but these peers were not such as they are now in England, the only nobles of the kingdom. They were princes who held of the crown; and when new peers were created, the King durst not but chuse them from among the princes. When Champagne ceased to be a peerage, in consequence of Philip the Fair's having acquired it by marriage, he erected Britany and Artois into peerages. Doubtless the sovereigns of those countries did not come to judge causes in the parliament of Paris, but a great many bishops did. In the beginning this new parliament met four times a-year; the members were often changed, and the King paid for each of their sessions out of his exchequer.

These parliaments were called *sovereign courts*; the president had the title of *sovereign of the body*, which signified no more than the head; as apears by these expres words in the ordinance of Philip the Fair, *That no master shall absent himself from the chamber, without leave of the sovereign.* I should also observe, that in the beginning no one was allowed to plead by proxy; they were obliged to come and make their appearance themselves in court, unless they had a particular dispensation from the King.

If the bishops had preserved their right of assisting at the sessions of this company, it would have become a perpetual assembly of the estates general. But they were excluded from thence under Philip the Long in 1320. At first they presided in parliament, and took place of the chancellor. The first layman, who presided in this court by the King's order in 1320, was a count of Boulogne. The gentlemen of the law took only the title of *counsellors*, till towards the year 1350. In process of time the lawyers becoming presidents, wore the mantle of ceremony belonging to the knights. They had the privileges of noblemen, and were oftentimes called

knights

knights of the law. But the ancient noble families, who had acquired their titles by arms, conſtantly affected a contempt for this peaceful nobility. In fact, we ſee that the deſcendents of the gentlemen of the long robe are not as yet admitted into the chapters of Germany. But it is a prejudice of ancient barbariſm, thus to degrade the nobleſt function of humanity, that of adminiſtering juſtice.

It was in this perpetual parliament, eſtabliſhed at Paris in the palace of St Lewis, that Charles VI. held that famous bed of juſtice, the 23d of December 1420, in the preſence of Henry V. King of England; and it was there he nominated *his beloved ſon Henry heir-regent of the kingdom*. It was there the King's ſon was called only *Charles the pretended Dauphin*, and that all the accomplices of the murder of John the Fearleſs, Duke of Burgundy, were declared guilty of high treaſon, and excluded from the right of ſucceſſion. This was in reality condemning the Dauphin, without naming him.

Further, it is aſſerted, that the parliament-regiſters in the year 1420 take notice, that the Dauphin (afterwards Charles VII.) had been previouſly ſummoned three times by ſound of trumpet in the month of January, and for default of appearing outlawed: *from which ſentence*, ſays this regiſter, *he appealed to God, and to his ſword*. If this regiſter be true, there muſt have been very near a whole year's interval between the outlawry and the bed of juſtice, which confirmed this fatal decree. But it is not at all aſtoniſhing that ſuch a ſentence paſſed. Philip Duke of Burgundy, ſon of the murdered Duke, was all-powerful in Paris; the Dauphin's mother had conceived an implacable averſion to her ſon; the King, bereft of his underſtanding, was in the hands of foreigners; and, to conclude the whole, the Dauphin had puniſhed one crime by the perpetration of another ſtill more horrid, having

cauſed

caused his relation John Duke of Burgundy to be murdered in his own presence, after drawing him into a snare upon the faith of the most solemn oaths. We must likewise consider the spirit of the times. This very Henry V. King of England, and Regent of France, had been imprisoned, when Prince of Wales, by the order of one of the judges, for giving him a box on the ear when he sat upon the bench.

The same century produced another instance of extreme severity of justice. A ban * of Croatia dared to condemn Elisabeth regent of Hungary to be drowned, for being guilty of the murder of King Charles of Durazzo; and the sentence was accordingly executed.

The judgment of the parliament against the Dauphin was of another kind; for it was dictated by a superior force. They took no cognisance of John Duke of Burgundy when he assassinated the Duke of Orleans, and yet they proceeded against the Dauphin, in order to punish the murder of a murderer.

In reading the lamentable history of those times, we ought to remember, that, after the famous treaty of Troye, which transferred the crown of France to Henry V. King of England, there were two parliaments at the same time, as there were two at the time of the league, about three hundred years afterwards; but every thing was double in the confusion that happened under Charles VI. There were two kings, two queens, two parliaments, two universities of Paris; and each party had its marshals and its great officers.

I shall observe likewise, that in those days, when a peer of the realm was to be tried, the King was obliged to preside in court. In consequence of this custom, Charles VII. the last year of his life, sat at the head of the judges, who condemned the Duke

* A ban signifies a kind of chief justice, and generalissimo of the army.

of Alençon; a cuſtom which ſince then has appeared inconſiſtent with juſtice, and unworthy of the royal majeſty; becauſe the preſence of the ſovereign ſeemed to conſtrain the judges, and to become a circumſtance prejudicial, when it ſhould naturally be favourable to the criminal.

In fine, I ſhall obſerve, that, for the trial of a peer, it was neceſſary to ſummon the peers, who were his natural judges. Charles VII. added the great officers of the crown in the affair of the Duke of Alençon: nay, he did more, he admitted the treaſurers of France, with the lay deputies of the parliament. Thus every thing changes; ſo that the hiſtory of the cuſtoms, laws, and privileges, in a great many countries, and eſpecially in France, is only a moveable picture.

It is therefore an idle notion, and an ungrateful taſk, to think of reducing every thing to the ancient uſages, and to want to fix that wheel which time revolves with irreſiſtible motion. To what epocha muſt we have recourſe? to that when the word *parliament* ſignified an aſſembly of free captains, who met in the open fields, on the 1ſt of March, to regulate the diſtribution of the ſpoils? or to that when all the biſhops had a right of ſitting in a court of judicature, alſo called *parliament?* or to the time when the barons kept the commons in a ſtate of ſlavery? To what age, to what laws muſt we aſcend, what cuſtom muſt we abide by? A modern Roman might, with as much reaſon, inſiſt upon the Pope's re-eſtabliſhing the conſuls, the tribunes, the ſenate, the comitia, and the entire form of the ancient republic; or a modern Athenian might as well deſire the Sultan to reſtore the ancient Areopagus, and the aſſemblies of the people.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of the council of Basil held at the time of Charles VII.

COUNCILS are in regard to popes, the same as estates-general in respect to kings. But things that bear the greatest resemblance, have still some difference. In limited monarchies, even where there is the greatest mixture of a republican spirit, the estates never fancied themselves above their kings, though they have often deposed them under particular emergencies, or during intestine troubles. The electors who deposed the Emperor Wenceslaus, never imagined themselves superior to a reigning emperor. The cortes or estates of Arragon used to tell the King whom they elected, *Nos que valemos tanto como vos, e que podemos mas que vos*; "We "who are as good as you, and who can do more "than you:" But after his coronation, they ceased to express themselves in this kind of style; they no longer called themselves the superiors of a person whom they had made their master.

But it is not the same thing with an assembly of bishops, of so many churches alike independent, as with the body of a monarchical state. This body has a sovereign; whereas the several churches have only a first metropolitan. Matters of religion, doctrine, and discipline, cannot be submitted to the decision of a single man, in contempt of the whole world. Councils are therefore superior to popes, in the same sense as the opinion of a thousand persons ought to prevail over that of one. The question is, to know, whether they have a right to depose him, as the diets of Poland, and the electors

of the German empire, have a right to depose their sovereign.

This is one of those questions which only the strongest side is able to decide. If, on the one hand, a simple provincial council may depose a bishop, surely an assembly of the whole Christian world may degrade the bishop of Rome. But, on the other hand, this bishop is a sovereign, an authority which he has not derived from any council. How then can a council deprive him of it, especially when his subjects are satisfied with his administration? In vain would all the bishops of the universe depose an ecclesiastic elector, with whom the empire and his electorate were satisfied; he would still continue an elector, with the same right, as a king excommunicated by the whole church, but master at home, would continue to be a sovereign.

The council of Constance deposed the sovereign of Rome, because the Romans were neither willing nor able to oppose it. The council of Basil, by attempting ten years afterwards to follow this example, shewed the world how easily we may be deceived by precedents; how great a difference there is in affairs which appear to be of the same nature; and that what is great and bold at one time, may be mean and temerarious at another.

The council of Basil was only a prolongation of several others which had been summoned by Pope Martin V. sometimes at Pavia, and sometimes at Sienna: But as soon as Pope Eugene IV. was elected, in 1431, the fathers began with declaring, that the Pope had neither a right to dissolve, nor even to transfer their assembly, and that he himself was subject to their jurisdiction. Upon this declaration, Pope Eugene issued out a bull dissolving the council. The fathers, by this precipitate step, shewed more zeal than prudence; and their zeal might have been attended with fatal consequences. Sigismond,

mond, who still sat on the Imperial throne, had not Eugene's person in his power, as he had had John XXIII. so that he was obliged to behave with great circumspection as well towards the Pope as towards the council. This scandalous affair was a long time confined to negotiations; and both East and West were engaged in the cause. The Greek empire was no longer able to maintain itself against the Turks, but by the assistance of the Latin princes; and in order to obtain a weak and very uncertain supply, the eastern church must submit to that of Rome. The Greeks were very far from being inclined to this submission; nay, as their danger approached, they rather grew more stubborn. But the Emperor John Paleologus, whom the danger threatened more nearly, resolved politically to comply with what his whole clergy had refused through obstinacy. He was ready to agree to every thing, provided they would assist him. He addressed himself at the same time to the Pope and to the council; and they both contended who should have the honour of converting the Greeks. He sent ambassadors to Basil, where the Pope had a few of his party, who were more artful than the rest of the fathers. The council had decreed to send some money to the Emperor, and galleys to escort him to Italy; and that afterwards he should be received at Basil. The Pope's emissaries made a subreptitious decree, by which it was ordained, in the name of the council itself, That the Emperor should be received at Florence, whither the Pope had transferred the assembly: they likewise broke the lock of the box where the council kept its seals; and thus they signed, in the name of the fathers, the very contrary of what had been voted by that body. This Italian artifice succeeded; and it then appeared, that the Pope must in every respect have the advantage of the council.

The fathers at Basil had no chief, like those at the council of Constance, that was able to keep them united, and to crush the Pope. They had no settled plan: they even behaved with so little prudence, that, in a certain writing which they delivered to the Greek ambassadors, it was mentioned, that, after destroying the heresy of the Hussites, they would extirpate the errors of the Greek church. The Pope acted with greater cunning: he spoke to the Greeks of nothing but of union and brotherly love, and avoided all harsh expressions. He was a man of abilities; of which he had shewn signal proofs, by appeasing the commotions at Rome, and by attaining to his present degree of power, in spite of such strong opposition. In short, his galleys were ready before those of the council.

The Emperor having his expences defrayed by the Pope, imbarks with his patriarch, and a few select bishops, who were ready to abjure the opinions of the Greek church to save their country. The Pope received them at Ferrara; where the Emperor and the bishops, notwithstanding their real submission, preserved the appearance of the majesty of the empire, and of the dignity of the Greek church. None of them kissed the Pope's toe; but after some contests about the word *filioque*, which Rome had long since inserted in the symbol, as also about unleavened bread, and about purgatory, they reconciled themselves in every respect to the Roman church.

Eugene removed his council from Ferrara to Florence, where the deputies of the Greek church embraced the opinion of purgatory. Here it was decided, *That the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father and the Son by the production of inspiration; that the Father communicates every thing to the Son,*

Son, excepting his paternity; and that the Son has had a productive virtue from all eternity.

At length the Greek emperor, with his patriarch, and almost all his prelates, subscribed at Florence to the point so long contested, of the supremacy of Rome.

This union of the Latins and the Greeks was indeed but of a short duration; for the whole Greek church disowned it. However, the Pope's victory was not the less glorious, and never pontiff before seemed to enjoy a more splendid triumph.

At the very time that he was rendering this service to the Latins, and that he extinguished, as much as in him lay, the schism between the eastern and western churches, * the council of Basil deposed him from the pontificate, declaring him guilty of *rebellion, of simony, of schism, of heresy, and of perjury.*

If we consider the council by this decree, we shall find them to be a mob of factious prelates; but if we view them by the rules of discipline which they established, they will appear to be men of consummate wisdom. This is because passion had no share in these regulations; whereas they were swayed by it entirely in the degrading of Pope Eugene. The most august body, when under the influence of faction, commit more mistakes than a single person. In France the council of Charles VII. embraced those prudent regulations, and rejected the decree which had been dictated by the spirit of party.

It is these regulations which long contributed to render the pragmatic sanction so dear to the French nation. That which had been promulged by St Lewis, could scarce be said to subsist; and the customs which had been in vain insisted upon by France, were abolished by the artifices of the court of Rome. By this famous pragmatic sanction the

* 1439.

customs

customs were restored; the elections made by the clergy with the King's approbation were confirmed; the annats were declared simoniacal; and the reservations and expectatives were condemned. But, on the one hand, men seldom have the courage to exert their whole strength; and, on the other, they often exert their strength too much. This famous law, which secures the liberties of the Gallican church, permits appeals to be made to the Pope in the last resort, and that he should delegate judges in all ecclesiastic causes, which might be so easily determined by national bishops. This was, in some measure, acknowledging the Pope as master: and at the very time that the pragmatic sanction left him possessed of the first of all rights, they forbid him to create more than four and twenty cardinals, with as little reason as the Pope would have to fix the number of the dukes and peers in France, or of the grandees in Spain. Thus mankind are made up of contradiction.

It was likewise the discipline established by this council that produced the Germanic concordate: but the pragmatic sanction has been abolished in France, whereas the Germanic concordate is still in force. All the usages of Germany have been preserved, such as the election of prelates, the investiture of princes, the privileges of cities, the rights, the ranks, and order of precedencies: hardly any thing has changed. On the contrary, in France we see not the least remains of the customs received in the reign of Charles VII.

After the council of Basil had vainly deposed a very prudent pope, whose authority all Europe continued to acknowledge, they set up, as every body knows, a mere phantom in his room, a duke of Savoy, named *Amadeus* VIII. who, from being the first duke of his family, was now become an hermit at Ripaglia. Poggio does not think his devo-

tion

tion was real. This however is certain, that he could not withstand the ambition of being pope. He was declared supreme pontiff, though a layman: and that which had caused such a violent schism and such wars at the time of Urban VI. was now attended with no other effect than with ecclesiastical quarrels, with bulls, censures, reciprocal excommunications, and contumelious expressions. For if the council, on one hand, called Eugene *a simonist, an heretic, a perjurer*; on the other, Eugene's secretary treated the fathers as *fools, madmen*, and *barbarians*; and to Amadeus they gave the name of *Cerberus*, and of *Antichrist*. In short, under Pope Nicholas V. the council insensibly dwindled away of itself; and this Duke of Savoy, hermit and pope, contented himself with a cardinal's hat, whereby the church was restored to her usual tranquillity *.

This council shews how greatly things are subject to change, according to the difference of times. The fathers at the council of Constance condemned John Huss and Jerome of Prague to the flames, notwithstanding the solemn protestation of those men, that they did not follow the dogmas of Wickliff; and notwithstanding the clear explication they gave of their faith concerning the real presence, persisting only in Wickliff's sentiments in regard to the hierarchy, and the discipline of the church.

At the time of the council of Basil, the Hussites went much farther than their two founders. Procopius, that famous captain, companion and successor of John Ziska, came and disputed in the council of Basil at the head of 200 gentlemen of his party. Among other things, he maintained, *that monkery was invented by the devil.* Yes, said he, I will prove it. Is it not true that Jesus Christ did not institute this kind of life? We do not deny it,

* 1442.

answered

anſwered Cardinal Julian. Well, ſaid Procopius, it is therefore plain that it was invented by the devil. A reaſoning worthy of a Bohemian captain of thoſe days. Æneas Sylvius, who was witneſs of this ſcene, ſays, that they anſwered Procopius only with a loud fit of laughter: but the unfortunate John Huſs and Jerome of Prague had been anſwered by a ſentence of death.

During this council, we have ſeen how greatly the Greek emperors debaſed themſelves. They muſt ſurely have been upon the brink of ruin, when they went to cringe for ſuch feeble ſuccours to Rome, and to make a ſacrifice of their religion. In fact, they fell ſome years afterwards a victim to the Turks, who made themſelves maſters of Conſtantinople. We ſhall now ſee the cauſes and the conſequences of this revolution.

CHAP. VI.

Of the decline of the Greek empire.

AT the ſame time that the cruſades diſpeopled the Weſt, the breach was made by which the Turks at length entered Conſtantinople; for the uſurpation of the cruſaders had weakened the oriental empire to ſuch a degree, that the Greeks, upon recovering it out of their hands, found it diſmembered and impoveriſhed.

We ſhould recollect, that this empire returned to the Greeks in 1261; that Michael Paleologus reſcued it from the Latin uſurpers, and afterwards dethroned his pupil John Laſcaris. We muſt alſo recall to mind, that at this very time Charles of Anjou, brother of St Lewis, invaded Naples and Sicily; and that had it not been for the Sicilian veſpers, he would have conteſted with the tyrant Paleologus

ologus the ſovereignty of Conſtantinople, a city fated to be a prey to uſurpers.

This Michael Paleologus acted his part very artfully with the popes, in order to divert the ſtorm: he flattered them with the ſubmiſſion of the Greek church; but his mean politics could not prevail over the ſpirit of party, nor over the ſuperſtition by which his country was governed. By this kind of temporizing, he rendered himſelf ſo odious, that his own ſon Andronicus, unhappily a zealous ſchiſmatic, * either durſt not, or would not grant him the honours of a Chriſtian burial.

And yet thoſe unhappy Greeks, thus preſſed on every ſide, both by the Turks and by the Latins, were diſputing all this time about the transfiguration of Jeſus Chriſt. One half of the empire pretended that the light of Tabor was eternal; and the other, that God had produced it merely on account of the transfiguration. In the mean time the Turks were acquiring ſtrength in Aſia Minor, and Thrace was ſoon over-run by their arms.

Ottoman, from whom all the emperors of that name are deſcended, had fixed the ſeat of his empire at Byrſa in Bithynia. His ſon Orcan advanced to the borders of the Propontis. The Emperor John Cantacuzenus was glad to give this prince his daughter in marriage: the nuptials were celebrated at Scutari oppoſite to Conſtantinople. Soon after, another competitor ſet up for the Imperial diadem; when the Emperor finding himſelf unable to maintain his authority, retired to a monaſtery. Such a circumſtance as an Emperor's being father-in-law to the Turkiſh Sultan, and afterwards becoming a monk, ſeemed to forebode the downfal of the empire. The Turks, who at this time had no ſhipping, wanted to croſs over into Europe. To ſo low an ebb was the empire reduced, that the Ge-

* 1283.

noeſe,

noese, by paying a small acknowledgment, were in possession of Galata. This place is looked upon as the suburb of Constantinople, from whence it is parted by a canal which forms the port. It is said, that Sultan Amurath, son of Orcan, engaged the Genoese to transport his troops to the other side of the streight; the contract was signed; and the Genoese are supposed for some thousand besants of gold to have betrayed Europe. Others pretend that the Turks made use of Greek vessels. Be that as it may, Amurath passed the streight, and advanced as far as Adrianople, where the Turks made a settlement, and from thence threatened all Christendom. * The Emperor John Paleologus repairs in all haste to Rome to kiss the feet of Pope Urban V.; he acknowledges his supremacy, and humbles himself in order to obtain some assistance, by the Pope's mediation: but the situation of their own affairs, and the unhappy example of the past crusades, hindered the European princes from thinking of any such expedition. In fine, after having in vain endeavoured to move the Pope, he went back and cringed to Amurath, with whom he concluded a treaty, not as one crowned head with another, but as a slave with his master. He served at the same time as a lieutenant and as an hostage to the Turkish conqueror; and after Amurath and Paleologus had each put out the eyes of their eldest sons, of whom they were equally jealous, Paleologus gave his second son to the Sultan. This son, whose name was *Manuel*, served under Amurath against the Christians. The corps of the janisaries had been already instituted; but from Amurath they received that form of discipline which subsists to this very day.

This prince was assassinated in the midst of his victories; and his Son Bajazet Ilderim †, or Bajazet the Thunderbolt, succeeded him. The Greek em-

* 1357. † 1383.

perors

perors were then at the very loweſt ebb of ignominy and debaſement. Andronicus, the unfortunate ſon of John Paleologus, who had his eyes plucked out by his own father, fled to Bajazet, and implored his protection againſt his father and his brother Manuel. Bajazet gave him 4000 horſe; and the Genoeſe, who were ſtill maſters of Galata, aſſiſted him with men and money. With theſe ſuccours Andronicus made himſelf maſter of Conſtantinople, where he put his father into cloſe confinement.

At the end of two years the father reſumed the purple, and cauſed a citadel to be built near to Galata, in order to ſtop the progreſs of Bajazet, who already had projected the ſiege of the Imperial city. Bajazet ordered him to demoliſh the citadel, and to admit a Turkiſh cadi into the town to decide the cauſes of the Turkiſh merchants ſettled in that capital. The Emperor obeyed; and Bajazet leaving Conſtantinople behind him, as a prey which he might at any time ſeize, advances towards the heart of Hungary. There he defeats, as I have already mentioned, the Chriſtian army, and among the reſt thoſe brave Frenchmen who were under the command of Sigiſmond Emperor of the Weſt. Before the battle, the French ſlew their Turkiſh priſoners; ſo that it is not to be wondered that Bajazet after his victory maſſacred the French in his turn, who had ſet him this cruel example. He ordered only five and twenty knights to be ſaved; among whom was the brother of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy; to whom he ſaid upon receiving his ranſom, "I might oblige thee to ſwear never to take up arms "any more againſt me, but I deſpiſe thy oaths and "thy arms."

After this defeat, Manuel, who was become emperor of the city of Conſtantinople, had recourſe to the European princes like his father. He came to France to ſue for ſuccour; but he never could have

choſen a leſs favourable time, Charles VI. being ſeized with a frenzy, and his country a ſcene of deſolation. Manuel ſtaid two years in France, while the capital of the Chriſtians was blocked up by the Turks. At length they laid ſiege to it in form; and the loſs of this celebrated metropolis ſeemed inevitable, when it was preſerved for a while by one of thoſe great revolutions which change the face of empires.

The dominion of the Mogul Tartars, whoſe origin we have already ſeen, extended from the Volga to the frontiers of China and to the Ganges. Tamerlane, one of thoſe Tartar princes, ſaved Conſtantinople by attacking Bajazet.

CHAP. VII.

Of Tamerlane.

TIMOUR, whom I ſhall call *Tamerlane*, to comply with the general cuſtom, was deſcended from Gengiſkan by the female ſide, according to the teſtimony of the beſt hiſtorians. He was born in the year 1357, in the town of Caſh, ſituated in the ancient Sogdiana, where the Greeks formerly extended their arms under Alexander, and eſtabliſhed ſome colonies. This is now the country of the Uſbecks: it begins at the river Gihon or Oxus, whoſe ſource is in the Little Thibet, about 700 leagues from the ſource of the Tigris and the Euphrates. It is the ſame Gihon as that mentioned in ſcripture.

Upon hearing the name of the town of *Caſh*, ſome would imagine it to be a frightful country: and yet it is a delightful ſpot, in the ſame climate as Naples and Provence.

People are apt to conſider Tamerlane as a bruti ſh barbarian:

barbarian: but it has been obſerved, that there never was any great conqueror among princes, nor great fortunes among private people, without that kind of merit which is rewarded with ſucceſs. That Tamerlane was in a very high degree poſſeſſed of the merit which accompanies ambition, appears from this, that though he was born to no title nor poſſeſſions, yet he ſubdued as large an extent of country as Alexander, and almoſt as much as Gengiſkan. His firſt conqueſt was that of Balk, the capital of Khoraſſan, on the frontiers of Perſia. Then he made himſelf maſter of the province of Candahar; and after reducing all the ancient Perſia under his dominion, he turned back in order to conquer the people of Tranſoxana. Thence he marched to lay ſiege to Bagdad, which he took; and proceeding with his army into India, he ſubdued that nation, and entered Deli, the capital of the empire. We find that in all times whoever became maſters of Perſia, have alſo conquered or ravaged India. Thus Darius Ochus, after ſeveral others, made a conqueſt of it: Alexander, Gengiſkan, and Tamerlane, ſoon brought it under ſubjection: and in our days Shah Nadir only ſhewing himſelf in that country, immediately gave law to the inhabitants, and returned loaded with immenſe treaſures.

After Tamerlane had made the conqueſt of India, he marched his army back, and falling upon Syria, he took Damaſcus. From thence he ſuddenly returns to Bagdad, which had been already ſubdued, but wanted now to ſhake off the yoke. He ſoon becomes maſter of it again, and delivers it up to the fury of the ſoldiers. On this occaſion it is ſaid that there periſhed near 800,000 inhabitants; in ſhort, the city was entirely deſtroyed. In thoſe countries the towns were eaſily razed to the ground, and eaſily rebuilt; the houſes, as we have already obſerved,

ſerved, being made only of brick dried in the ſun. It was in the midſt of theſe victories, that the Greek Emperor, finding no relief from Chriſtians, addreſſed himſelf at length to the Tartar conqueror. At the ſame time five Mahometan princes, who had been diſpoſſeſſed by Bajazet of their dominions ſituated on the borders of the Euxine ſea, implored his aſſiſtance. He was prevailed upon at length by Muſſulmen and Chriſtians to march his army into Aſia Minor.

We may form a favourable idea of his character from this, that in the courſe of this war he obſerved at leaſt the law of nations. He began with ſending ambaſſadors to Bajazet; who were ordered to inſiſt upon his raiſing the ſiege of Conſtantinople, and doing juſtice to the Mahometan princes whom he had ſtripped of their dominions. Bajazet received theſe propoſals with anger and diſdain. Tamerlane declares war againſt him, and immediately puts his troops in motion. Bajazet raiſes the ſiege of Conſtantinople, and between Cæſarea and Ancyra was fought that famous battle where the forces of the whole world ſeemed to have been aſſembled. Doubtleſs Tamerlane's troops were excellent, ſince, after the moſt obſtinate ſtruggle, they defeated thoſe who had overthrown the Greeks, the Hungarians, the Germans, the French, and ſo many warlike nations. It is * certain, that Tamerlane, who had hitherto fought with the ſcimitar and arrows, made uſe of artillery againſt the Turks; and that it is he who ſent ſome field-pieces into the Mogul's country, where they are ſtill to be ſeen with unknown characters ingraved upon them. The Turks in this very engagement made uſe not only of cannon, but of the ancient wild fire. By this double advantage they would have infallibly been

* 1401.

maſters

masters of the field, if Tamerlane had had no artillery.

Bajazet was obliged to fly; but the northern Tartars in his army betrayed him, and delivered him up to his enemy.

Among the ancient Persian and Arabian authors, who wrote the history of Tamerlane, not one of them mentions his shutting Bajazet up in an iron cage: on the contrary, he treated him with humanity. Only to humble his pride, he is said to have made Bajazet's wife to wait upon him at table. The vanquished Sultan died soon after at the court of Tamerlane.

It is a fabulous story, that the Turkish sultans never have married since the affront offered by Tamerlane to the wife of Bajazet; for we shall presently see that Amurath II. married the daughter of a despot of Servia, and that even Mahomet II. married the daughter of a prince of Turcomania.

The victorious Tartar, like all conquerors, who never suffer their weaker neighbours to be at rest, finding himself now master of almost all Asia Minor, by the taking of Bajazet, invaded Syria, which was still subject to the Mamalukes of Egypt. From thence he repassed the Euphrates, and returned to Samarcand, which he looked upon as the capital of his vast dominions. He had conquered almost as great an extent of territory as Gengiskan; for if the latter had part of China and Corea, the former was possessed of Syria, and the half of Asia Minor, which Gengiskan was never able to subdue: he was likewise master of almost all Indostan, whereas Gengiskan had only the northern provinces. Scarce was he settled in the possession of this immense empire, when he began to meditate the conquest of China, at too advanced a period of life.

It was at Samarcand, that, in imitation of Gengiskan, he received the homage of several princes of

Asia, and the embassies of many sovereigns. Not only the Greek Emperor Manuel sent ambassadors to him, but likewise Henry III. King of Castile. Here he gave one of those feasts which resemble those of the first kings of Persia. All the orders of the state, and the several artificers passed in review, each with the ensigns of his profession. He married all his grandsons and grand-daughters the same day. At length he died * in a very advanced age, after having reigned thirty-six years, more fortunate by the length of his days, and the success of his grandchildren, than Alexander, to whom the eastern nations compare him; but far inferior to the Macedonian hero, inasmuch as he was born among a barbarous people, and, like Gengiskan, he destroyed a great many cities, without building one: whereas Alexander, during a very short reign, and in the midst of his rapid conquests, built Alexandria and Scanderoon; re-established this very Samarcand, which was afterwards Tamerlane's Imperial residence; built cities as far as the Indies; settled Greek colonies beyond the Oxus; sent the Babylonian observations into Greece; and changed the commerce of Asia, Europe, and Africa, by making Alexandria the general magazine. Here, I think, the character of Alexander is preferable to that of Tamerlane, Gengiskan, and to all the conquerors ever compared to him.

In other respects Tamerlane does not appear to me to have been of a more violent temper than Alexander. If I may be permitted a little to enliven so dismal a subject, and to mix the small with the great, I will mention what has been related by a cotemporary Persian of this prince. He says, that as a famous Persian poet, named *Hamedi Kermani*, was bathing one day in the same bath with Tamerlane, and several other courtiers, they happened to

* 1406.

fall

fall upon a humorous kind of diverſion, which conſiſted in ſettling the value of each of the company in money I rate you, ſays the poet to the great khan, at thirty aſpers. The napkin I wipe myſelf with, is worth that, anſwers the monarch. Ay, but replies Hamedi, I reckoned the napkin too. Very likely a prince who permitted thoſe innocent liberties, was not of a ferocious diſpoſition; but it is poſſible alſo, that he might grow familiar with the little people, while he cut the great ones throats.

He was neither a Muſſulman, nor of the ſect of the great Lama, but, like the Chineſe, he acknowledged one only God; and in this expreſſed a mark of great ſenſe, which even the moſt polite nations ſeemed to have wanted. There was no ſuperſtitious practices to be ſeen, neither at his court, nor in his armies. He tolerated alike the Muſſulmen and the Lamiſts, as well as the idolaters who were ſpread over the Indies. He even aſſiſted, as he was paſſing over the mount Libanus, at the religious ceremonies of the Maronite monks who live on that mountain. His only weakneſs was that of giving credit to judicial aſtrology; a very general error, from which we ourſelves are but lately recovered. He had no learning, but he took care to have his grandchildren inſtructed in the ſciences. The famous Olougbeg, who ſucceeded him in the dominions of Tranſoxana, founded, at Samarcand, the firſt academy of ſciences, made the meaſurement of the earth, and had a ſhare in the compoſition of the aſtronomical tables which go by his name, reſembling in this reſpect Alphonſo King of Caſtile, who flouriſhed 100 years before him. The grandeur of Samarcand is at preſent fallen, together with the ſciences: the whole country now poſſeſſed by the Uſbeck Tartars, is relapſed into barbariſm; but, by another revolution, will perhaps one day raiſe its head again, and recover its former glory.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Continuation of the history of the Turks, and of the Greeks, till the taking of Constantinople.

CONSTANTINOPLE was for some time reprieved by Tamerlane's victory, but the successors of Bajazet soon re-established their empire. Tamerlane's conquests were chiefly in Persia, in Syria, in the Indies, in Armenia, and on the borders of Russia. The Turks recovered Asia Minor, and preserved their acquisitions in Europe. At that time there must have been more communication, and less aversion than at present, between Mahometans and Christians. John Paleologus made no difficulty to marry his daughter to Orcan; and Amurath II. grandson of Bajazet, and son of Mahomet I. did not scruple to marry the daughter of a despot of Servia, named *Irene*.

Amurath II. was one of those Turkish princes who contributed to the Ottoman grandeur; though he was convinced of the vanity of that very grandeur which he had increased by his arms. His only aim was retirement. It must have been a very extraordinary spectacle to see a Turkish philosopher abdicate the crown. This prince resigned it twice, and twice he was prevailed upon by his bashaws and janisaries to resume it.

John Paleologus went to Rome, and from thence to the council, which we mentioned to have been summoned by Eugene IV. at Florence: there he disputed about the procession of the Holy Ghost, while the Venetians, already masters of part of Greece, were purchasing Thessalonica, and his dominions were almost entirely shared between the Christians and the Mahometans. Amurath in the mean

mean time took this very Theſſalonica, juſt after it had been ſold, and puſhed his conqueſts into Hungary. This nation had lately choſen Ladiſlaus, the young King of Poland, for their ſovereign. The Sultan having carried on the war for ſome years in Hungary, in Thrace, and in all the neighbouring countries, with various ſucceſs, concluded the moſt ſolemn peace that had been ever made between the Chriſtians and the Turks *. Amurath and Ladiſlaus both ſwore to it, one by the Koran, and the other by the Goſpel. By this very peace, it appears, that the Turks had not had the diſadvantage during the war, ſince the treaty left them all Bulgaria, and the country of Romania, then in their poſſeſſion.

Cardinal Julian Ceſarini, the Pope's legate in Germany, a man famous for perſecuting the party of John Huſs, for preſiding at the firſt ſeſſions of the council of Baſil, and for the cruſade which he preached againſt the Turks, was the perſon who, by too blind a zeal, involved the Chriſtians in ſhame and miſery.

Scarce was the peace concluded, when the Cardinal inſiſted on its being broke. He flattered himſelf, that he had engaged the Venetians and the Genoeſe to fit out a formidable fleet; and that the Greeks would awake from their lethargy, and make one deſperate puſh. The occaſion likewiſe was favourable; for it was juſt the very time when Amurath II. on the faith of the above-mentioned treaty, had conſecrated his days to retirement, and reſigned the empire to his ſon Mahomet, who was young and unexperienced.

A pretext was wanting for the violation of this oath. Amurath had obſerved all the conditions with a ſcrupulous exactneſs, which left not the leaſt room for the Chriſtians to complain. The legate,

* 1444.

then,

then, had no other resource than to persuade Ladislaus, as well as the Hungarian chiefs, and the Poles, that their oath was not binding. Both in speeches and in writings, he assured them, that the peace sworn upon the Gospel was void, because it had been made contrary to the Pope's inclination. And indeed Eugene IV. then the reigning pontiff, had wrote to Ladislaus, ordering him *to break a peace which he had no authority to make without the consent of the holy see.* We have already seen, that the maxim had been introduced, *of not keeping faith with heretics*; from whence they concluded, that they were not obliged to keep it with Mahometans.

Thus old Rome violated the truce with Carthage in the last Punic war: but the event was very different. The senate wantonly broke their engagements from a desire of crushing a conquered republic; whereas the Christians proved perfidious from a desire of repelling a nation of usurpers. At length Julian prevailed; the several generals and chiefs were carried away by the torrent, especially John Corvin Hunniade, that famous captain of the Hungarian armies, who fought so often against Amurath and Mahomet II.

Ladislaus, seduced by vain hopes, and by a doctrine which success alone could justify, invaded the Turkish territories. The janisaries addressed themselves to Amurath, intreating him to quit his solitude, and to put himself at their head. The Sultan having consented, the two armies met towards the Euxine sea in that country, which now is called *Bulgaria*, formerly *Mæsia*. The battle was fought in the neighbourhood of the town of Varna. Amurath carried about him the treaty of peace, which had been but just concluded. In the midst of the engagement, at the very time when his troops were giving way, he pulled it out of his bosom, and begged of God, the punisher of perjurers, to avenge

avenge this outrageous violation of the law of nations. This is what gave occaſion to the fable, that the peace had been ſworn to upon the euchariſt, that the hoſt had been delivered into the hands of Amurath, and that it was to this hoſt he directed his ſpeech in the heat of the battle. Perjury this once received the puniſhment it deſerved: the Chriſtians, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, were entirely defeated. Ladiſlaus having been ſlain in the engagement, a janiſary cut off his head, and carried it in triumph from rank to rank through the Turkiſh army; a ſpectacle which completed the victory.

After the purſuit was over, Amurath ordered the body of this prince to be interred on the field of battle, with all military ſolemnity. It is ſaid alſo, that he erected a monument upon his grave; and that the inſcription, far from inſulting the memory of the vanquiſhed prince, extolled his courage, and lamented his misfortune.

Some ſay that Cardinal Julian, who had been preſent at this engagement, was drowned by the weight of the gold he had about him, in attempting to croſs a river in his flight. Others affirm that he was killed by the Hungarians themſelves. It is certain however, that he periſhed this fatal day.

But what is moſt remarkable, Amurath, after this victory, returned to his ſolitude, abdicating the crown a ſecond time, which a ſecond time he was obliged to reſume, in order to fight and conquer. * At length he died at Adrianople, and left the empire to his ſon Mahomet II. who thought more of imitating the valour than the philoſophy of his father.

* 1451.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Of Scanderberg.

ANother no leſs celebrated warrior, whom I know not whether to call a Turk or Chriſtian, ſtopped the progreſs of Amurath, and for a long time defended Chriſtendom againſt the victorious arms of Mahomet II. I mean to ſpeak of Scanderberg, who was born in Albania, a part of Epirus, a country famous in thoſe old times which are called *heroic*, and in the real heroic times of the Romans. His name was *John Caſtriot*, ſon of a deſpot, or of a little king of that country. Upon the deceaſe of this deſpot, when Caſtriot was yet an infant, Amurath had ſeized on Albania, ſeveral years before the above-mentioned battle of Varna. He brought up this infant, the only one left of four brothers. The Turkiſh annals make no mention of theſe four princes having been ſacrificed to the vindictive ſpirit of Amurath. And indeed it does not appear that theſe barbarities were conſiſtent with the character of a ſultan who twice had abdicated the crown; nor is it probable that he could have ſo tenderly loved and confided in a perſon, from whom he ought to have expected the moſt implacable averſion. He conſtantly careſſed young Caſtriot, and kept him near his own perſon. On the other hand, Caſtriot ſhewed ſuch ſignal marks of proweſs, that the Sultan and the janiſaries gave him the name of *Scanderberg*, which ſignifies *Lord Alexander*.

In ſhort, friendſhip prevailed over good policy. Amurath intruſted him with the command of a ſmall army againſt the deſpot of Servia, who had declared in favour of the Chriſtian cauſe, and was waging war againſt his ſon-in-law the Sultan. This happened before his abdication. Scanderberg, who was

was not then twenty years old, formed the deſign of throwing off his dependency, and of attaining the ſovereign power.

Having had intelligence that a ſecretary, who carried the Sultan's ſeals, was paſſing near his camp, he orders him to be arreſted, and impriſoned. There he forces him to ſign an order to the governor of Croye, the capital of Epirus, to deliver up the town and citadel to Scanderberg. After he had diſpatched this order, he kills the ſecretary and his attendants; then * he marches to Croye, and the governor reſigns the command to him without any difficulty. That very night the Albanians, with whom he kept a correſpondence, advance to the city-walls; upon which he maſſacres the governor, together with the whole garriſon. After this exploit, the province of Albania is, by the means of his partiſans, ſoon brought over to his intereſt. The Albanians are reckoned the beſt ſoldiers in that part of the world. Scanderberg diſciplined them ſo well, and poſted himſelf ſo advantageouſly in that rough and mountainous country, that, with a few troops, he ſtopped the progreſs of large armies of the Turks. The Mahometans looked upon him as a traitor; but he had deceived only his enemies. He recovered his father's crown, which he deſerved for his bravery.

CHAP. X.

Of the taking of Conſtantinople by the Turks.

IF the Greek emperors had ſhewn the ſame conduct and valour as Scanderberg, the eaſtern empire would have been preſerved. But that very ſpirit of cruelty, of weakneſs, of diviſion and ſuperſti-

* 1443.

tion, which had brought it to ſo low an ebb, haſtened now the moment of its deſtruction.

At that time they reckoned three empires of the Eaſt, when there was really never a one. The firſt empire was the city of Conſtantinople, then in the hands of the Greeks. Adrianople, the aſylum of the family of the Laſcaris, which had been taken by Amurath I. in 1362, and ever ſince continued in the poſſeſſion of the ſultans, was looked upon as the ſecond; and a barbarous province of the ancient Colchis, named *Trebizonde*, which had been the retreat of the Comneni, was reputed the third.

This diſmembering of the empire was the only conſiderable effect of the cruſades. After it had been ravaged by the Franks, it was recovered again by its ancient maſters, but recovered to be once more expoſed to depredations; ſo that it was amazing it ſubſiſted ſo long. There were two parties in Conſtantinople, both moſt virulently inflamed againſt each other by the diſputes about religion, in the ſame manner almoſt as had been the caſe at Jeruſalem, when beſieged by Veſpaſian and Titus. The one was that of the emperors, who, from the vain hopes of receiving ſuccours, conſented to ſubject the Greek to the Latin church; the other that of the prieſts and of the people, who, having the invaſion of the cruſaders ſtill freſh in their memories, deteſted the reunion of the two churches. Thus they waſted their time in religious controverſies, while the Turks were at the city-gates.

John VII. Paleologus had reigned twenty-ſeven years; and to ſuch a low ebb was the empire reduced after his death, which happened in 1449, that one of his ſons, Conſtantine by name, was obliged to receive the confirmation of the Imperial dignity from the Turkiſh Sultan Amurath II. as from his ſovereign. A brother of this Conſtantine had Lacedæmon, another was poſſeſſed of Corinth, and a third

third had that part of the Peloponneſus which did not belong to the Venetians.

Such was the ſituation of the Greeks, when Mahomet Bouyouk, or Mahomet the Great, ſucceeded the ſecond time to his father Sultan Amurath. The Monkiſh writers have painted this prince as a brutiſh barbarian, who at one time cut off the head of his pretended miſtreſs Irene to pacify the murmuring of the janiſaries, and another time ripped open the bellies of fourteen of his pages, to ſee which of them had eaten a melon. We likewiſe find theſe abſurd ſtories in our dictionaries, which for this long time have been no more than the alphabetical repoſitories of falſehood.

The Turkiſh annals unanimouſly inform us, that Mahomet had the beſt education of any prince in his time. What we have mentioned concerning his father Amurath, ſufficiently proves, that the latter had not neglected the inſtruction of his ſon and heir. Nor can it be denied that Mahomet had a high ſenſe of filial duty, and ſtifled all ſentiments of ambition, when he gave back the crown which Amurath had reſigned to him. Twice he returned to the condition of a private ſubject, without exciting the leaſt diſturbance. This is the only example of the kind recorded in hiſtory; and it is ſo much the more extraordinary, as the violence of Mahomet's temper was in every reſpect equal to his ambition.

This celebrated prince ſpoke Greek, Arabic, and Perſian; he likewiſe underſtood Latin, and drawing; and knew all that could be then known of geography and the mathematics. He was particularly fond of painting; inſomuch that he ſent to Venice, as every lover of the arts muſt have heard, for the famous Gentili Bellino, and rewarded him, as Alexander rewarded Apelles, with preſents and with his friendſhip. He gave him a crown of gold, and

a gold collar, beſides 3000 gold ducats, and ſent him back with honour. I cannot help reckoning among the improbable ſtories, that of the ſlave, whom Mahomet is pretended to have beheaded, in order to ſhew Bellino the effect of the muſcles and of the ſkin on a neck ſevered from the body. Theſe barbarities which we exerciſe on animals, are never practiſed by men upon their own ſpecies, except in the fury of their vengeance, and in what is commonly called *the right of war*. Mahomet II. was oftentimes bloody and ferocious, as all conquerors that have ravaged the world. But why ſhould we charge him with ſuch improbable cruelties? and to what purpoſe ſhould we multiply theſe ſcenes of horror?

This prince was twenty-two years of age when he aſcended the throne of the ſultans. From that time he bent his mind on the conqueſt of Conſtantinople; while this unhappy city was rent into factions, diſputing whether they ſhould make uſe of leavened or unleavened bread in the ſacrament, and whether it was beſt to pray in Greek or Latin.

He began * therefore with blockading the city, on the ſide of Europe, and towards Aſia. At length, the beginning of April 1453, the adjacent country was covered with near 300,000 Turks, and the ſtreight of Propontis with about 300 galleys, and 200 ſmaller veſſels.

One of the moſt extraordinary, and yet beſt-atteſted facts, is the uſe which Mahomet made of thoſe ſhips. They could not get into the port, the mouth of it being barricadoed with ſtrong chains of iron, and beſides, in all probability, advantageouſly defended. One night therefore he orders the ground to be covered, for the length of two leagues, with fir planks greaſed with tallow and fat, and laid like the manger of a ſhip; then, by the help of machines, and by bodily labour, fourſcore

* 1443.

galleys,

galleys, and ſeventy tenders or ſmaller veſſels, were drawn from the ſtreight, and rolled on theſe planks. All this great work was done in one night; and the beſieged were aſtoniſhed early the next morning to ſee an entire fleet deſcend from the land into their harbour. The ſame day a bridge of boats was built within ſight of them, and ſerved for the erecting a battery of cannon.

The city of Conſtantinople muſt either have had very little artillery, or this artillery muſt have been ill ſerved. For how comes it, that the cannon did not demoliſh this bridge of boats? But I queſtion much, whether Mahomet, as they pretend, made uſe of two hundred pounders. It is common for the conquered to exaggerate every thing. There muſt have been near 100 pounds of powder for the exploſion of balls of that magnitude. This quantity of powder cannot take fire at once; the ſhot would go off before the fifteenth part had taken fire; and the ball would have but very little effect. Probably they miſtook mortars for cannon.

In the month of May, the Turks made a general aſſault upon this city, then looked upon as the capital of the world. It was but indifferently fortified, and not much better defended. The Emperor, attended by a Roman cardinal, named *Iſidore*, conformed to the Roman ritual, and thereby incenſed and diſheartened his Greek ſubjects, who would not ſo much as enter the churches which he frequented; *We had rather*, ſaid they, *ſee a turbant here than a cardinal's hat.*

At other times, almoſt all the Chriſtian princes, under the pretence of a holy war, entered into a league to invade this metropolis and bulwark of Chriſtendom; and now, when it was attacked by the Turks, not one of them appeared to defend it.

The Emperor Frederick III. had neither power nor courage ſufficient for ſuch an enterpriſe. Po-

land was under a very bad government. France was ſcarcely reſcued from that abyſs of miſery, into which its civil diſſenſions, and the war with the Engliſh, had plunged it. England began to feel the weakneſs ariſing from domeſtic diviſions. The Duke of Burgundy, Philip the Good, was indeed a potent prince, but had too much ſagacity to renew the cruſades by himſelf; and beſides, was too far advanced in years, to enter upon ſuch an expedition. The Italian princes were at war with one another. Arragon and Caſtile were not yet united; and the Mahometans ſtill poſſeſſed a part of Spain.

There were only two princes in Europe qualified for entering the liſts with Mahomet II. One was Huniade Prince of Tranſylvania; but he happened at that time to be hardly able to defend his own country. The other was the famous Scanderberg, who could only maintain his ground in the mountains of Epirus, in the ſame manner very near as Pelagius defended himſelf formerly in the mountains of Aſturia, when the Mahometans ſubdued Spain. Four Genoeſe ſhips, one of which belonged to the Emperor Frederick III. were the only ſuccour almoſt which the Chriſtian world lent to Conſtantinople. A foreigner commanded in the town, whoſe name was *Juſtinian*, a native of Genoa. Every building reduced to foreign ſupports, threatens ruin. The old Greeks never had a Perſian at their head; nor were the troops of the republic of Rome ever commanded by a Gaul. In this ſituation of affairs, Conſtantinople could not avoid being taken; and accordingly it was taken; but in a manner quite different from that related by all our authors, who have only copied Ducas and Chalcondylus.

In the Turkiſh annals, digeſted at Conſtantinople by the late Prince Demetrius Cantemir, it is related, that, after a forty-nine days ſiege, the Emperor Conſtantine was obliged to capitulate. He ſent ſeveral

veral Greeks to receive the law of the conqueror, and they agreed upon many articles. But juſt as the Greek deputies were returning back to the city, Mahomet recollecting ſomething which he had ſtill further to ſay, orders his people to ride after them. The beſieged beholding from the top of the ramparts, a body of Turks galloping after the deputies, imprudently fire at them. The Turks are ſoon joined by a greater number. The Greek envoys are already entering by a poſtern, when the enemy enter pell-mell along with them, and make themſelves maſters of the upper town, which is ſeparated from the lower. The Emperor is killed in the croud; and Mahomet immediately converts the palace of Conſtantine the Great into a ſeraglio, and Sancta Sophia into his principal moſque.

The Sultan having thus made himſelf maſter of one half of Conſtantinople, had the humanity or the policy to grant the ſame capitulation to the other half as he had offered to the whole city; and he religiouſly obſerved it. This is ſo far true, that all the Chriſtian churches of the lower town were preſerved till the reign of his grandſon Selim, who ordered many of them to be demoliſhed. They were called the *moſques of Iſſevi*, which is the Turkiſh name for *Jeſus*. That of the Greek patriarch ſtill ſubſiſts at Conſtantinople, on the canal of the Black ſea. The Turks have permitted an academy to be founded in this quarter, where there are profeſſors to teach the ancient Greek, which is no longer the living language, as alſo Ariſtotle's philoſophy, theology, and phyſic. This is the ſchool that formed Conſtantine Ducas, Mauro Cordato, and Cantemir, whom the Turks made princes of Moldavia. I own that Demetrius Cantemir has related a great many idle fables; but he could not be miſtaken in regard to the modern monuments which he

he ſaw himſelf, nor to the academy where he was educated.

In conſequence of a grant made to a Greek architect named *Chriſtobulus*, the Chriſtians ſtill preſerve a church, and an entire ſtreet in Conſtantinople. This architect had been employed by Mahomet II. to build a moſque on the ruins of *the church of the holy apoſtles*, an ancient work of Theodora, wife of the Emperor Juſtinian; and he ſucceeded in erecting an edifice not much inferior to Sancta Sophia in beauty. He built likewiſe, by Mahomet's orders, eight ſchools and eight hoſpitals dependent on this moſque; and it was to reward this ſervice, that the Sultan granted him the ſtreet I mentioned, which ſtill remains in his family. It is not a fact worthy of hiſtory, that a maſter-builder ſhould have an eſtate in houſes; but it is important to know, that the Turks do not always treat the Chriſtians as barbarouſly as we imagine.

But, notwithſtanding the declamations of Cardinal Iſidore, and of ſo many others, it evidently appears, that Mahomet was a prince of greater moderation, and politer accompliſhments, than we are willing to believe. by his permitting the conquered Chriſtians to chuſe their patriarch. He inſtalled him himſelf with the uſual ſolemnity; and gave him the croſier and ring, which the weſtern emperors had long ſince been afraid to give. If in any thing he deviated from the uſual ceremony, it was to reconduct the elected patriach Gennadius to the gates of his palace; when the patriarch told him, *that he was quite aſhamed of an honour which the Chriſtian emperors had never done to his predeceſſors.* Since that time, the Turkiſh ſultans have conſtantly appointed a patriarch, who is called *œcumenical.* The Pope nominates another, who is ſtyled the *Latin patriarch.* Each of them is taxed by the

divan,

divan, and the tax is paid by their miſerable flock. Theſe two churches, equally groaning under oppreſſion, are nevertheleſs irreconcileable; and to pacify their quarrels, is at preſent a conſiderable taſk of the ſultans, who are become moderators as well as conquerors of the Chriſtians.

CHAP. XI.

Of the progreſs of the Turks.

DURING a reign of one and thirty years, Mahomet marched on from conquéſt to conqueſt, without being oppoſed by any league of the Chriſtian princes: for we muſt not give the name of *league* to a momentary underſtanding between Huniade Prince of Tranſylvania, the King of Hungary, and a deſpot of Black Ruſſia. This famous captain, Huniade, gave convincing proofs, that if he had been better aſſiſted, the Chriſtians would not have been ſtripped of all thoſe countries which the Mahometans now poſſeſs in Europe. He repulſed Mahomet II. from before Belgrade, three years before the taking of Conſtantinople.

At this ſame time, the Perſians fell upon the Turks, and diverted the torrent with which Chriſtianity was overwhelmed. Uſſum Caſſan, of the branch of Tamerlane, called the *White Ram*, and governor of Armenia, had lately ſubdued Perſia. He married a Chriſtian princeſs, the daughter of David Comnenus Emperor of Trebiſonde; by which alliance, and by attacking Mahomet on the banks of the Euphrates, he ſet the Chriſtians an example of uniting againſt the common enemy. This favourable opportunity was alſo neglected. They ſuffered Mahomet, after various ſucceſs, to conclude a peace with the Perſian; to take Trebiſonde, with part

part of Cappadocia that depended on it; to turn his arms againſt Greece; to ſeize on Negropont; to return to the extremity of the Black ſea; to make himſelf maſter of Caffa, the ancient Theodoſia rebuilt by the Genoeſe; to return and reduce Scutari, Zante, Cephalonia; to make inroads up to Trieſte, at the very gates of Venice; and at length to eſtabliſh the Mahometan power in the middle of Calabria; where he menaced the reſt of Italy, and from whence his generals did not withdraw till after his deceaſe. He did not indeed ſucceed in the ſiege of Rhodes; but though he miſſed taking this little iſland, ſtill the reſt of the weſtern world were not the leſs ſtruck with the terror of his arms.

He had conquered Epirus after the death of Scanderberg, when the Venetians had the courage to oppoſe his arms. This was the æra of the Venetian power: they had a conſiderable extent of territory on the continent, while their fleets bid defiance to the naval power of Mahomet, and made the conqueſt of Athens. But at length, this republic receiving no ſuccours, was obliged to give up Athens, and moreover to purchaſe, by an annual tribute, the liberty of trading to the Black ſea; imagining thus to repair her loſſes by commerce, which had laid the foundation of her grandeur. We ſhall ſee, that, ſoon after, Pope Julius II. and almoſt all the Chriſtian princes, did more miſchief to this republic, than it had ſuffered from the Ottomans.

In the mean while Mahomet II. was preparing to carry his victorious arms againſt the Sultan Mamalukes of Egypt, at the time that his generals were ſtill in the kingdom of Naples. He flattered himſelf, that afterwards he ſhould be able to make himſelf maſter of Rome, as of Conſtantinople; and hearing mention made of the ceremony by which the Doge of Venice marries the Adriatic ſea, he

ſaid,

said, "that he would soon send him to the bottom "of the sea to consummate his marriage." A colic pain freed the world of him at the age of fifty-one *. The Turks have nevertheless preserved a more extensive and more beautiful territory in Europe, than all Italy. The country of the Miltiades's, the Leonidas's, the Alexander's, the Sophocles's, and the Plato's, soon relapsed into barbarism. The Greek language from that time was corrupted; and there remained not the least vestige of the arts: for though there is a Greek academy at Constantinople, yet it is far from being comparable to that of Athens; neither have the polite arts been re-established by the 6000 monks whom the Turks permit to live on Mount Athos.

The Greeks remained in a state of oppression, though not of slavery; they were suffered to retain their religion and their laws: on which occasion the Turks behaved in the same manner, as the Arabians had behaved in Spain. The Greek families continue in their country, despised, but unmolested: they pay only a small tribute, carry on a trifling commerce, and cultivate the lands; their cities and their boroughs have still their *protogeros* who decides their disputes; and they allow an honourable support to their patriarch. This prelate must certainly draw very considerable sums from them, since he pays at his installation 4000 ducats to the Imperial exchequer, and as many more to the officers of the Porte.

The greatest subjection the Greeks are under, is the obligation of supplying the Sultan, by way of tribute, with a number of children, to serve in the seraglio, or among the janisaries. A father of a family is compelled to give one of his sons, or to ransom him. There are Christian provinces in Europe, where the custom of giving children, design-

* 1481.

ed

ed for the army from their very cradles, is eſtabliſhed. Theſe children of tribute, brought up by the Turks, uſed frequently to make great fortunes in the ſeraglio. Even the condition of janiſaries is pretty tolerable. It was a great proof of the force of education, and of the ſtrange conſtitution of human affairs, that moſt of thoſe fierce enemies of Chriſtianity ſhould be born of Chriſtian parents. It was ſtill a greater proof of that irreſiſtible deſtiny by which the Supreme Being connects the ſeveral events of this world, that Conſtantinople ſhould have been built by Conſtantine for the Turks, as the foundations of the capitol had been laid ſo many ages before by Romulus for the Roman pontiffs.

Here I think it incumbent upon me to combat a vulgar error, that the Turks live under an abſurd kind of government, called *deſpotic*; that the people are all ſlaves to the Sultan; that they have no ſort of property; but that their lives and eſtates belong to their maſter. Such a government would deſtroy itſelf. Beſides, it would be very extraordinary, that the conquered Greeks ſhould be free, and their conquerors ſlaves. Some travellers imagine that the lands all belong to the Sultan, becauſe he makes Timariots for life, as formerly the kings of the Franks granted military benefices. Theſe gentlemen ſhould have conſidered that there are laws for inheritances in Turky, as in every other place.

True it is, that the perſonal eſtates of the Baſhaws devolve to the Sultan at their deceaſe, and that he gives what part he pleaſes to the family. But this was a cuſtom eſtabliſhed in Europe when the fiefs were not hereditary; and a long time after, even the biſhops themſelves inherited the perſonal eſtates of the lower clergy, while the popes exerciſed this right over the cardinals, and over all the incumbents,

cumbents, who died within the residence of the supreme pontiff.

The Turks are not only all free, but they have no distinction of nobility among them: they know no other superiority but that of employments.

Their manners are fierce and haughty, and at the same time effeminate: their fierceness they derive from the Scythians their ancestors, and their softness from Greece and Asia. Their pride is excessive: they are conquerors and ignorant, which is the reason of their despising all other nations.

The Ottoman empire is not a monarchical government, tempered by mildness and moderation like those of France and Spain; much less does it resemble Germany, which is become a republic of princes and of towns, under a supreme head who has the title of *Emperor*. It partakes nothing of Poland, where the husbandmen are slaves, and the nobles are kings; and it is as different from England in constitution as in climate. Yet we must not imagine that it is in every respect an arbitrary government, where the law allows the wanton caprice of a single person, to sacrifice to his fancy a multitude of men, like so many deer that a person keeps in his park for his pleasure.

Our prejudices are such that we fancy a Chiaus can staff in hand command all the housekeepers of a town, in the Sultan's name, to deliver up their money and their daughters for the use of his master. There are doubtless horrid abuses in the Turkish government; but generally speaking these abuses are less fatal to the common people, than to those who have a share in the administration: it is they that feel the utmost rigor of despotic power. The private sentence of a divan is sufficient to sacrifice the heads of the principal men upon the least suspicion. There is no great body established in this country to render the laws respectable, and the sovereign's

perſon ſacred: no barrier of the conſtitution againſt the unjuſt incroachments of the vizir. Hence there is very little remedy for the ſubject when he is oppreſſed, or for the maſter when a conſpiracy is formed againſt his life. The Grand Signior, though conſidered as the moſt potent ſovereign in the world, is at the ſame time the leaſt ſettled on the throne; he is depoſed in one day's inſurrection. In this the Turks have followed the manners of the Greek empire; only they have a greater reſpect for the Ottoman family, than the Greeks had for their emperors. They depoſe, they murder a ſultan, but always in favour of the next heir. On the contrary, the Greek empire had by divers aſſaſſinations paſſed through twenty different families.

The fear of being dethroned, is a greater check to the Turkiſh emperors, than all the laws of the Koran. Though he is abſolute maſter in his ſeraglio, maſter of the lives of his officers by means of the Mufti's fetfas, yet he has not the ſame power over the cuſtoms of the empire; he cannot raiſe the taxes, nor meddle with the public money; even his private treaſure is ſeparate from that of the public.

The Sultan's office is ſometimes the moſt lazy in the world, while that of the Grand Vizir is the moſt laborious; the latter is at the ſame time conſtable, chancellor, and firſt preſident. The reward of ſo much toil is frequently baniſhment or ſtrangling. We ſhall ſee how this empire has increaſed in power, and maintained its ferocious cuſtoms.

While the Ottomans were extending their dominion, France, which afterwards became their ally, was augmenting its forces, and began to be a very conſiderable kingdom.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Of Lewis XI. *King of France.*

THE feudal government ſoon expired in France, after Charles VII. had begun to eſtabliſh his power by the expulſion of the Engliſh, by the acquiſition of ſo many provinces reunited to the crown, and, in fine, by perpetuating the ſubſidies.

For a contrary reaſon, the feudal order was eſtabliſhed in Germany under elective emperors, who, as emperors, had neither territories nor ſubſidies. Italy was ſtill divided into republics and independent principalities. Spain and the North were both ſtrangers to abſolute power; while England, in the midſt of its diviſions, was ſowing the ſeeds of that extraordinary government, whoſe roots, though often cut, and often moiſtened with blood, have at length, after a ſeries of ages, produced, to the ſurpriſe of nations, an equal mixture of liberty and regal authority.

In France there were only two great fiefs remaining, Burgundy and Britany: but their power rendered them independent; and, notwithſtanding the feudal laws, they were not conſidered in Europe as a part of the kingdom. The Duke of Burgundy, Philip the *Good*, had even ſtipulated, that he ſhould not yield homage to Charles VII. when he forgave him the murder of the Duke his father.

The princes of the blood had peerages for their appennage, but dependent on the juriſdiction of the parliament. The lords, ſo powerful on their lands, had no longer any power, as they formerly had had, in the ſtate. There was ſcarce any beyond the Loire but the Count of Foix that intitled himſelf *Prince by the grace of God*, and that coined money: but the lords of the fiefs, and the corpora-

tions of the great cities, enjoyed immenſe privileges.

Lewis XI. ſon of Charles VII. became the firſt abſolute king in Europe, ſince the decline of the houſe of Charlemain. He did not attain the eaſy enjoyment of this power till after violent commotions. His life is a moſt remarkable contraſt of virtues and vices. Muſt he, to the humiliation and confuſion of virtue, deſerve to be conſidered as a great king, he who is deſcribed as an unnatural ſon, a barbarous brother, a bad father, and a perfidious neighbour? He embittered the latter end of his father's days, and was the cauſe of his death: for the unfortunate Charles VII. died, as every one knows, through fear leſt his ſon ſhould deſtroy him; chuſing to ſtarve himſelf in order to avoid the poiſon which he ſo much dreaded. This fear alone in a father, of being poiſoned by his own ſon, proves but too well, that the latter was looked upon as capable of committing the flagitious deed.

After maturely examining the whole conduct of Lewis XI. may we not look upon him as a man who wanted to efface his acts of violence by baſe artifice, and to maintain his impoſtures by cruelty? How comes it, that, in the beginning of his reign, ſo many lords who had been ſtrongly attached to his father, and eſpecially the famous Count de Dunois, whoſe ſword had been the ſupport of the crown, entered into a confederacy againſt him *for the public good?* They had taken no advantage of the weakneſs of the government, a thing ſo often done; but Lewis XI. made a bad uſe of its ſtrength. Is it not plain, that the father, inſtructed by his own miſtakes and misfortunes, had governed extremely well; and that the ſon, too much elated by his power, began with governing ill?

By this confederacy he was in danger of loſing his crown and his life. The battle fought at Monteri

leri did not prove deciſive; ſo that he could not diſunite the confederates, till he granted to each of them what they demanded. Thus there was even a mixture of weakneſs where he ſhewed his abilities.

Without any manner of reaſon, he made Charles, the ſon of Philip the Good, who was maſter of Burgundy, Franche-Comté, Flanders, Artois, of the towns on the Somme, and of Holland; he made this prince, I ſay, his implacable enemy. He ſtirred up the people of Liege to commit a perfidious action againſt this Duke of Burgundy, and to take up arms againſt him. At the ſame time, he put himſelf in this prince's power at Perronne, thinking thereby to deceive him. Could there be a worſe policy! But he was detected; and after having been kept priſoner in the caſtle of Perronne, he was obliged to attend his vaſſal againſt thoſe very people of Liege whom he had ſpirited up to rebellion. Could there be a greater humiliation!

He is afraid of his brother the Duke of Berry; in conſequence of which this prince is poiſoned by his confeſſor, a Benedictine monk, named *Favre Veſois*. This is not one of thoſe foul deeds embraced without any proof by the malicious credulity of the vulgar. The Duke of Berry was at ſupper, and ſat between the lady of Montſerau and his confeſſor. The latter cauſed a very large peach to be ſet before them: the lady expired immediately upon eating of it; the prince fell into terrible convulſions, and died ſoon after.

Odet Daidie, a brave nobleman, deſirous of revenging the Duke's death, to whom he had been always attached, carried the guilty monk out of Lewis's juriſdiction into Britany. Here he was fairly tried; but the day they were to paſs ſentence, Odet was found dead in his bed. To quiet the public clamour, Lewis ordered the writings to

be brought to him, and appointed commiſſioners; but they decided nothing, and the King amply rewarded them. There were very few in Europe who doubted that Lewis had committed this crime, he who, when Dauphin, had made his father afraid of parricide. Hiſtorians ought not to accuſe him without ſufficient proof; but they ought to be ſorry for his having deſerved this ſuſpicion. They ſhould obſerve, that every prince who has been guilty of a notorious crime, is guilty alſo of all the raſh judgments which the people make on his actions.

Such was the conduct of Lewis XI. towards his vaſſals and his relations. Let us now ſee how he behaved towards his neighbours. Edward IV. King of England, lands in France, to try to recover the conqueſts of his anceſtors. Lewis is able to fight him, but chuſes rather to pay tribute. He bribes the chief officers among the Engliſh, makes preſents of wine to the whole army, and purchaſes the return of this army into England. Would it not have been more becoming the dignity of a King of France, to employ the money ſpent in ſeducing the perſon whom he ought not to have feared, to employ it, I ſay, in putting himſelf in a condition to oppoſe the enemy?

Princes of generous minds are not afraid of chuſing men of rank and approved abilities for their favourites and miniſters. Lewis XI. had none hardly for his confidents and miniſters but perſons of mean birth, whoſe minds were ſtill lower than their condition.

Few tyrants ever put more citizens to death by the hands of the common executioner, and by more exquiſite torments, than Lewis XI. The annals of the time mention 4000 ſubjects executed either in public or in private during his reign. Dungeons, iron-cages, chains, with which his victims

tims were loaded, are the monuments left us by this monarch, which we behold with horror.

And yet this artful and obdurate heart had two propenſities, which ought naturally to have humanized his manners, namely, love and devotion. He had miſtreſſes, by whom he had had three baſtards; and beſides, he uſed to go on pilgrimages. Love indeed was part of his natural character; but his devotion was only the ſuperſtitious fear of an inordinate mind. He was always covered with relics, and wore a leaden image of our lady in his cap, of whom it is pretended that he uſed to aſk forgiveneſs for his aſſaſſinations, even before he committed them. He gave the county of Bologna by contract to the Bleſſed Virgin. Surely piety does not conſiſt in making the Virgin a counteſs, but in abſtaining from ſuch actions as our conſcience condemns, and God muſt puniſh.

He introduced the Italian cuſtom of ringing the bells at noon, and of ſaying an *Ave Maria*. He aſked the Pope for the privilege of wearing the ſurplice and the amict, and of being anointed a ſecond time with the oil of the holy vial of Rheims.

At length, perceiving the approach of death, he ſhut himſelf up in the caſtle of Pleſſis-les-tours, where, inacceſſible to his ſubjects, ſurrounded with guards, and devoured with inquietude, he ſent to Calabria for an hermit, whoſe name was *Francis Martorillo*, ſince revered by the name of *St Francis of Paula*. He throws himſelf at his feet, and, with tears in his eyes, beſeeches him to intercede with God that he may prolong his life; as if the eternal order of things ought to have changed at the voice of a Calabrian in a French village, only that a weak and perverſe mind might remain in a worn-out carcaſe longer than nature would permit. While thus he ſues to a foreign hermit for life, he thinks to reanimate his old body by drinking plentifully

tifully of childrens blood, which he vainly hoped would correct the ſharpneſs of his own.

It is impoſſible to experience a more wretched fate than this prince did, in the midſt of proſperity, continually tortured by wearineſs of mind, by remorſe, by fear, and by the vexation of being hated.

And yet he was the firſt King of France that took upon him the title of the *Moſt Chriſtian*, almoſt at the ſame time that Ferdinand of Arragon, a prince as famous for his perfidy as for his conqueſts, aſſumed the name of *Catholic*. Such a multitude of vices however did not deprive Lewis XI. of his good qualities. He did not want courage, but could charge the enemy like a king: he underſtood mankind, and was verſed in buſineſs: he would likewiſe have juſtice adminiſtered, ſuffering none but himſelf to be unjuſt with impunity.

After Paris had been laid waſte by a contagion, it was repeopled through his care and vigilance. It is true, that among the new inhabitants there was a great number of thieves and vagabonds; but the ſeverity of the magiſtrates ſoon made them good citizens. In his reign there were 80,000 burghers in this city able to bear arms. It is to him the people are indebted for the firſt humiliation of the nobility; an event for which about fifty families complained, and more than 500,000 had reaſon to rejoice.

It is he that eſtabliſhed the poſt office, but not in the manner in which it is regulated at preſent in all parts of Europe. He only renewed the *veredarii* of Charlemain, and of the ancient Roman empire. Two hundred and thirty meſſengers were always employed in carrying his orders. Private people might ride the horſe appointed for theſe meſſengers, paying ten pence a-horſe for every ſtation of four leagues. The letters were delivered from town to town by the King's meſſengers; a regulation which,

for

for a long time, obtained only in France. He wanted to render the weights and measures uniform throughout his dominions, as they had been in the time of Charlemain. In fine, he was an instance, that a bad man can promote the public good, where his private interest is not concerned.

The imposts under Charles VII. independently of the crown-lands, amounted to 1,700,000 livres: under Lewis XI. they increased to 4,700,000 livres; and the livre being at that time ten to the mark, this sum amounted to 23,500,000 livres present money. If, pursuing these proportions, we examine into the price of provisions, and especially of corn, the principal branch, we shall find, that it was not half so much as in our days. Thus, with 23,000,000, they do as much as we do at present with 46,000,000.

Such was the power of France, before Burgundy, Franche-Comté, Artois, the territory of Boulogne, the towns on the Somme, Provence, and Anjou, were by Lewis XI. incorporated with the French monarchy. France soon became the most powerful kingdom in Europe; it was like a river increased by twenty lesser streams, and cleared of the dirt and mud which had long disturbed its waters.

Titles at that time began to be given to power. Lewis XI. was the first king of France that took the title of *Majesty*, which the Emperor only had hitherto borne; but the German chancery would never give it to any king, till very lately. The kings of Arragon, Castile, and Portugal, had the title of *Highness*; and the King of England was styled *your Grace*.

Every one knows, that Lewis XI. acquired Provence by a donation from the last sovereign count of that country; just as Philip de Valois obtained the Dauphiné. Anjou and Maine, which had belonged to the Count of Provence, were likewise re-

united

united to the crown. Burgundy merits a more particular conſideration.

CHAP. XIII.

Of Burgundy and the Swiſs at the time of Lewis XI. *in the fifteenth century.*

CHARLES the *Bold*, who derived his original in a direct line from John King of France, was poſſeſſed of the dukedom of Burgundy, as the appennage of his family, with the towns on the Somme, which had been yielded to him by Charles VII. By right of ſucceſſion he had Franche-Comté, Artois, Flanders, and almoſt all Holland. His towns in the Low Countries enjoyed ſo flouriſhing a trade, that it almoſt rivalled that of Venice. Antwerp was the ſtaple of the northern nations. In Gaunt there were 50,000 artificers employed in the woollen manufactory. Bruges was as trading a town as Antwerp. Arras was celebrated for its beautiful tapeſtries, which ſtill go by its name in England and in Italy.

The Duke of Burgundy might therefore have been very happy if he pleaſed; for he was one of the moſt powerful princes in Europe, without bearing the title of *King*. But he wanted to enlarge his power, by ſubduing the Swiſs and the Lorrainers, their neighbours. His vaſt ambition was the real cauſe of this war; while a quarrel about a cart loaded with ſheep-ſkins was the pretence of it.

At that time there were only eight Swiſs cantons. Friburg, Soleure, Schaffhouſe, and Appenzel, had not yet joined in the confederacy. Baſil, an Imperial city, whoſe ſituation on the Rhine rendered it both powerful and wealthy, did not conſtitute a part of this infant republic, which had nothing but the poverty,

poverty, ſimplicity, and valour of its inhabitants to diſtinguiſh it. The deputies of theſe reſpectable peaſants came to repreſent to this ambitious prince, that their whole country was not worth his troopers ſpurs. Nothing can be finer than the behaviour of the Swiſs on this occaſion; for they ſpoke with modeſty, and defended themſelves with bravery.

The Duke's gendarmes *, all covered with gold, were twice entirely routed by theſe ſimple peaſants, who were aſtoniſhed at the riches they found in the enemy's camp.

Who could have thought at that time, when the biggeſt diamond in Europe, taken by a Swiſs ſoldier in this battle, was ſold to his general for a crown; who, I ſay, could have thought, that there would be one day much finer and wealthier cities in Swiſſerland, than even the capital of the dukedom of Burgundy? Theſe people were a long time unacquainted with the luxury of diamonds and imbroidered ſilks; and as ſoon as it was known, it was prohibited: but ſolid riches, which conſiſt in the cultivation of the earth, have been gathered there by free and victorious hands. In our days they have begun to ſtudy the conveniencies of life. All the ſweets of ſociety, together with the improvements of ſound philoſophy, without which ſociety has no charms, have made their way into ſome particular ſpots of Swiſſerland, where they enjoy a milder climate, together with the bleſſings of plenty. In fine, the inhabitants of this country, formerly ſo rude and uncultivated, may in ſome places be ſaid to have joined the urbanity of Athens to the ſimplicity of Sparta.

Charles the Bold wanted to wreak his vengeance on Lorrain, and to wreſt the town of Nanci, which he had taken once before, from Duke René, its lawful ſovereign. But thoſe very Swiſs who had

* 1476.

defeated

defeated him before, assisted by their countrymen of Friburg and Soleure, who, by this very act, shewed themselves worthy of their alliance, routed once more the troops of this usurper, when he purchased with his blood the name of *Bold*, which has been given him by posterity.

Then it was that Lewis XI. took possession of Artois, and of the towns of the Somme, of the dukedom of Burgundy as a fief-male, and of the city of Besançon by the right of conveniency.

Princess Mary, daughter of Charles the Bold, and heiress to so many provinces, was thus stripped at once of two thirds of her territories. The seventeen provinces which this princess still preserved, might have been likewise joined to the kingdom of France, had she married the son of Lewis XI. who vainly flattered himself, that he might make her his daughter-in-law, while he was stripping her of her patrimony. Thus this great politician missed the opportunity of uniting Franche-Comté, and all the Netherlands, to the French monarchy.

The inhabitants of Gaunt, and the rest of the Flemmings, who enjoyed more liberty at that time under their sovereigns, than even the English do at present under their kings, made their princess marry Maximilian, son of the Emperor Frederick III. The princess did not long survive this marriage; a marriage that may be said to have been the source of all those wars which continued for such a series of years between the house of France and that of Austria.

CHAP. XIV.

Of CHIVALRY.

THE extinction of the house of Burgundy, the government of Lewis XI. and especially the new

new manner of waging war, which had been introduced over all Europe, contributed insensibly to abolish what we call *chivalry*; a kind of dignity and confraternity, of which there soon remained no more than a weak and imperfect image.

This chivalry was a warlike institution, which had established itself among the nobility, as the devout confraternities had been established among the burghers. The anarchy and confusion under which Europe laboured upon the decline of the house of Charlemain, gave rise to this institution. Dukes, counts, viscounts, vidames, castellanies, were become sovereigns on their own estates: they waged war against each other. But instead of those great armies of Charles Martel, Pepin, and Charlemain, almost all Europe was divided into small bodies of 7 or 800 men, and sometimes less. Two or three boroughs formed a petty state, which was continually fighting against its neighbour. There was no longer any communication between the provinces, no longer any high roads, no longer any security for the merchants, who nevertheless were a necessary set of people, for each lord of a castle extorted from them on the road. The multitude of towers on the banks of rivers, and in narrow passages of mountains, were only so many nests of lurking-holes of robbers. They carried off the women, and plundered the merchants.

A great many lords insensibly entered into an association, and even vowed to maintain the public security, and to protect the ladies. This virtuous institution received a greater force, by becoming a religious act. Thus associations were formed in almost all the provinces: every lord of a great fief held it an honour to be a knight, and to be admitted into the order.

Towards the eleventh century they established both religious and profane ceremonies, which seem-

ed to give a new character to the candidate. He was obliged to fast, to confess, and receive the sacrament, and to pass a whole night armed cap-a-pee. He was made to dine by himself at a separate table, while his godfathers, and the ladies who were to put on his armour, and to dub him knight, eat at another. For his part, he was clad in a white tunic, and sat at his side-table, where he was forbid to speak, to laugh, and even to eat. The next day he entered the church with his sword hanging about his neck, and the priest gave him his benediction; afterwards he kneeled down before the lord or lady who was to put on his armour. The persons of the first rank that assisted at the ceremony, put on his spurs, clad him with a cuirass, with brassets, with cuisses, gantlets, and with a coat of mail, called *haubert*. The godfather who installed him, struck him three times over the shoulder with the flat side of his sword, in the name of God, of St Michael, and of St George. From that time forward, so often as he heard mass, he drew his sword at the Gospel, and held it erect.

This installation was followed by great festivals, and oftentimes by tournaments. The great lords of the fiefs laid a tax on their subjects for the day on which their children were to enter the order of knighthood. It was generally at the age of one and twenty that they received this title; before that time they were bachelors, which signified the same as *bas chevalier*, inferior knights, valets, and squires; and the lords who had entered the confraternity, sent their children to one another's houses, in order to be educated far from their parents, by the name of *varlets*, in the apprenticeship of chivalry.

The time of the crusades was the period in which the knights were most in vogue. The feudal lords, who led their vassals under their banner, were called *knights banneret*: not that the bare title of

knight

knight gave them a right to appear in the field with banners. It was power only, and not the ceremony of dubbing, that qualified them to have troops under their colours. They were bannerets in virtue of their fiefs, and not of chivalry. This title was only a distinction introduced by cuſtom, and a conventional honour; it was never a real dignity in the ſtate, nor had it ever any influence in the form of government. The elections of the emperors and of kings were not made by knights; there was no neceſſity of having been dubbed to be admitted to the Imperial diets, to the parliament of France, or to the *cortes* of Spain. The infeoffments, the rights of juriſdiction and dependence, the inheritances, the laws, every thing, in fine, that was eſſential, had no ſort of relation to this ſort of chivalry. The great privileges of this inſtitution conſiſted in the bloody ſports called *tournaments*. Neither a bachelor, nor ſquire, generally ſpeaking, were ſuffered to juſtle with a knight.

Even kings themſelves would be armed as knights; but this gave them no addition of dignity or power; their intent was only to encourage chivalry and valour by their example. The knights had a great reſpect ſhewn them in ſociety; and this was all the advantage they enjoyed.

In proceſs of time, when King Edward III. inſtituted the order of the garter; Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, the order of the golden fleece; and Lewis XI. the order of St Michael, in the beginning as much reſpected as the other two, and now ſo ridiculouſly debaſed; then the ancient chivalry declined. But it had no longer any mark of diſtinction, nor a head that could confer particular honours and privileges. There were no longer any knights bannerets, when kings and great princes had eſtabliſhed regular companies in their armies; then the ancient chivalry became only an empty

name. But it was ſtill thought an honour to be dubbed by a great prince, or by a famous warrior. Thoſe lords who were conſtituted in ſome dignity, added to their title the quality of *knight*; and all thoſe who made profeſſion of arms, aſſumed that of *eſquire*.

The military orders of knighthood, as the Templars, the knights of Malta, the Teutonic order, and ſo many others, are an imitation of the ancient chivalry, which joined religious ceremonies to military functions. But this kind of chivalry was abſolutely different from the ancient. It produced the monaſtic military orders, founded by popes, poſſeſſed of benefices, and confined to the three monaſtic vows. Of theſe extraordinary orders, ſome have been great conquerors, others have been ſuppreſſed for their debauchery, and others ſubſiſt ſtill with honour and dignity.

The Teutonic order was a ſovereign power; the order of Malta is ſo ſtill, and is likely ſo to continue.

There is ſcarce a prince in Europe, that has not thought proper to inſtitute an order of knighthood. The ſimple title of *knight*, which the kings of England confer on private citizens, without inrolling them in any particular order, is a derivation from the ancient chivalry, and very remote from its ſource. Its genuine deſcent has been preſerved only in the ceremony by which the kings of France always confer the honour of knighthood on the ambaſſadors ſent from Venice; and the *accolade*, or embracing about the neck, is the only ceremony preſerved in this inſtallation.

In the picture here exhibited, we ſee a great variety; and if we would attentively follow the chain of the ſeveral cuſtoms of Europe ſince the time of Charlemain, in reſpect to government, to the church, to war, to dignities, to finances, to ſociety, and even

even to garb and dreſs, we ſhould find nothing but a perpetual viciſſitude.

CHAP. XV.

Of Charles VIII. *and the ſtate of Europe when he undertook the conqueſt of Naples.*

LEWIS XI. left his ſon Charles VIII. a prince only fourteen years of age, of a feeble conſtitution, and with little or no education, in poſſeſſion of the fineſt and moſt powerful kingdom in Europe. But he left him alſo a civil war, the almoſt inſeparable companion of minorities. The King indeed was not a minor, according to the law of Charles V. but he was ſufficiently under age, according to the law of nature. His eldeſt ſiſter Anne, wife of the Duke of Bourbon Beaujeu, was, by her father's will, intruſted with the regency, which ſhe really deſerved. Lewis Duke of Orleans, the firſt prince of the blood, who was afterwards that very King Lewis XII. whoſe memory is ſo dear to us, began with ſhewing himſelf the ſcourge of the ſtate, of which he afterwards became the father. On the one hand, his quality of firſt prince of the blood, ſo far from giving him any ſhare in the government, did not even give him the precedency over the other peers more ancient than himſelf. On the other, it ſeemed very odd, that a woman, whom the law excludes from the throne, ſhould rule the ſtate, under another name. The Duke of Orleans, excited by ambition, (which excites the moſt virtuous), engaged in a civil war againſt his ſovereign, in order to be his guardian.

The parliament of Paris perceived then the credit which it was likely one day to acquire in the caſe of minorities. The Duke of Orleans addreſſed

himſelf to the chambers, to obtain a decree for changing the adminiſtration. The firſt preſident, La Vaquerie, made anſwer, That neither the finances, nor the adminiſtration of the realm, were points that belonged to the juriſdiction of the parliament, but to the ſtates general, which ought therefore to be ſummoned.

By this anſwer it appears, that Paris was then quiet, and that the parliament were in the intereſt of Madame de Beaujeu. The civil war was carried on in the provinces, and eſpecially in Britany, where the old Duke Francis II.* ſided with the Duke of Orleans. At length both parties came to an engagement near St Aubin in Britany. Here we are to obſerve, that, in the Duke of Orleans's army, there were 4 or 500 Engliſh, notwithſtanding the troubles with which their own country at that time was exhauſted. Whenever an opportunity offers of attacking France, the Engliſh are very ſeldom neuter. Lewis de la Trimouille, a great general, defeated the rebels, and took their chief, the Duke of Orleans, priſoner, who afterwards became his ſovereign. We may reckon him the third of the Capetian kings taken in battle; but he was not the laſt. The Duke was confined near three years in the tower of Bourges, till Charles VIII. † went himſelf in perſon to ſet him at liberty. The French at that time muſt have been a much milder people than the Engliſh, who being diſtracted at home with civil wars, generally put their priſoners to death by the hands of the executioner.

The peace and grandeur of France were cemented by the marriage of Charles VIII. who at length compelled the old Duke of Britany to give him his daughter and his dominions. The Princeſs Anne of Britany, one of the fineſt women in her time, was in love with the Duke of Orleans, who ſtill had

* 1488. † 1491.

youth

youth on his ſide, and was withal a moſt graceful perſon. Thus, by this civil war, he loſt both his liberty and his miſtreſs.

In Europe, the marriages of princes frequently decide the fate of nations. King Charles VIII. who, in his father's lifetime, might have married Mary, the heireſs of the houſe of Burgundy, had it ſtill in his power to marry the daughter of this Mary and of Maximilian King of the Romans; and Maximilian, on his ſide, the widower of Mary of Burgundy, had good reaſon to flatter himſelf with the hopes of obtaining Princeſs Anne of Britany. He had actually married her by proxy; and the Count of Naſſau had, in the name of the King of the Romans, put one leg into the Princeſs's bed, according to the cuſtom of thoſe times. But this did not hinder the King of France from concluding his marriage. He obtained the Princeſs, and for her portion Britany, which was afterwards reduced into a province of France.

This kingdom was then at its higheſt pitch of glory; and indeed nothing but the great number of miſtakes its princes committed, could have hindered them from being the arbiters of Europe.

The reader may remember, how the laſt Count of Provence bequeathed this country by will to Lewis XI. This Count, in whom ended the houſe of Anjou, took the title of *King of the Two Sicilies*, which his family had long ſince loſt; a title which he communicated to Lewis XI. at the ſame time that he made him a real donation of Provence. Charles VIII. reſolving not to wear an empty title, ſoon prepared every thing neceſſary for the conqueſt of Naples, and to eſtabliſh his dominion in Italy. But we muſt firſt take a view of the ſtate of Europe, at the time when theſe events happened, *viz.* towards the end of the fifteenth century.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVI.

State of Europe at the end of the fifteenth century.

THE Emperor Frederick III. of the houſe of Auſtria, was lately dead: he had left the empire to his ſon Maximilian *, who had been choſen King of the Romans in his father's lifetime. But theſe kings of the Romans had no longer any power in Italy; the authority they had in Germany was no greater than that of the Doge at Venice; and, upon the whole, the houſe of Auſtria was far from being formidable. In vain do they ſtill ſhew the following epitaph at Vienna: *Here lies the pious, auguſt Emperor Frederick* III. *Sovereign of Chriſtendom, King of Hungary, Dalmatia, Croatia, Archduke of Auſtria,* &c.; it only ſerves to ſhew the vanity of inſcriptions. He never poſſeſſed any thing belonging to Hungary, except the crown adorned with ſome jewels, which he always kept in his cabinet, refuſing to ſend them either to his pupil Ladiſlaus, who was King of that country, or to thoſe who were afterwards choſen by the Hungarians, and who fought againſt the Turks. He was hardly maſter of one half of the province of Auſtria; his couſins had the reſt; and as to the title of *Sovereign of Chriſtendom*, it is eaſy to ſee whether he deſerved it. His ſon Maximilian had, beſides his father's demeſnes, the adminiſtration of the territories belonging to his wife Mary of Burgundy, in the name of his ſon Philip the Handſome. Every one knows, that he was called *Maſſimiliano pochi danari*, "Maximilian with "little money;" a ſirname that did not at all prove him to have been a powerful prince.

* 1493.

England

England had been almoſt laid waſte by the long civil wars between the White and Red roſes, as we ſhall preſently relate more at large. But now it was beginning to recover itſelf a little, under King Henry VII. who, after the example of Lewis XI. humbled the barons, and favoured the commons.

Of SPAIN.

IN Spain the Chriſtian princes had been conſtantly divided. The race of Henry Tranſtamare, a baſtard and uſurper (ſince we muſt call things by their right name), was ſtill upon the throne of Caſtile, when an uſurpation of a more extraordinary kind gave riſe to the Spaniſh grandeur.

Henry IV. one of the deſcendents of Tranſtamare, who began his unhappy reign in 1454, was a moſt debauched prince. There never was a court entirely abandoned to voluptuouſneſs, without being expoſed to revolutions, or at leaſt to inſurrections. His wife, Donna Juana, whom I ſhall call by this name, to diſtinguiſh her both from her daughter Jane, and from the other princeſſes of that name, was daughter of a king of Portugal, but of ſo abandoned a character, that ſhe carried on her amours without any ſort of diſguiſe. Few women ever had leſs regard for the appearance of decorum in their intrigues. King Henry IV. paſſed his days with his wife's gallants, and theſe did the ſame with the King's miſtreſſes. Thus the court ſet the Spaniards an example of the greateſt effeminacy and licentiouſneſs. By this unhappy conduct the government grew ſo weak, that the malecontents, who are generally the moſt numerous at all times, and in all countries, became a formidable party in Caſtile, and entered into a conſpiracy againſt the King.

The

The conſpirators accuſed him of impotency, at the very time that he was ſurrounded with concubines; and, by a procedure unexampled in all governments, they declared his daughter Jane a baſtard, and born in adultery.

An archbiſhop of Toledo, who had been at the head of the faction, put himſelf likewiſe at the head of the armies. A long inteſtine war was the conſequence of the debauchery of the court. At length the crown was ſettled in reverſion on Iſabella, ſiſter of Henry IV. The aſſembly of the ſtates, known by the name of *las cortes*, acknowledged her to be the right heir, in preference to the lawful daughter. Her brother ſtill continued for ſome time on the throne, with a very limited authority *, and died at length not without ſuſpicion of poiſon.

In vain did he leave his kingdom at his death to his daughter Jane; in vain did he ſwear that ſhe was his lawful iſſue; neither his oath upon his death-bed, nor his wife's oath, could prevail againſt Iſabella's party. She was married to Ferdinand the Catholic, King of Arragon and Sicily, a perſon not inferior to herſelf in abilities. They lived together, not like two married people, whoſe goods are common to each other, under the direction of the huſband, but as two monarchs ſtrictly allied in friendſhip. Jane, the right heireſs of Caſtile, was not able to withſtand their joint forces. Her uncle Don Alphonſo, King of Portugal, took up arms in favour of his niece, whom he intended to marry. But the concluſion of all theſe efforts and troubles was, that the unhappy princeſs, who had been born to a throne, was condemned to ſpend the remainder of her days in a monaſtery †.

Never was injuſtice more ſucceſsful, nor more artfully coloured by the reſolute and prudent con-

* 1474. † 1479.

duct

duct of the uſurpers. Iſabella and Ferdinand formed ſuch a power as Spain had never beheld ſince the re-eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity. The Mahometan Arabians had only the kingdom of Granada, ſo that they were juſt upon the brink of ruin in this part of Europe, while the Turkiſh Mahometans ſeemed likely to ſubdue the other. The Chriſtians had loſt Spain by their diviſions in the beginning of the eighth century, and the ſame cauſe drove the Moors at length out of this kingdom.

Boabdilla, nephew to Alboacen King of Granada, had rebelled againſt his uncle. Ferdinand the Catholic laid hold of this opportunity of fomenting the civil war, and of ſupporting the nephew againſt the uncle, in order to weaken both parties. Soon after the death of Alboacen, he attacked his ally Boabdilla with the joint forces of Caſtile and Arragon. His arms were ſix years employed in the conqueſt of the Mahometan kingdom. At length he beſieged Granada; the ſiege laſted eight months, and Iſabella came thither in perſon to enjoy the triumph. King Boabdilla ſurrendered on ſuch conditions as ſhewed that he was ſtill in a condition of making a defence. For it was ſtipulated, that the Spaniards ſhould neither meddle with the goods, nor with the laws, nor liberty, nor religion of the Moors; that even their priſoners ſhould be returned without ranſom; and that the Jews included in the treaty ſhould enjoy the ſame privileges. Upon theſe conditions Boabdilla marched out of his capital, and delivered up the keys to Ferdinand and Iſabella *, who, for the laſt time, treated him as a king.

Cotemporary writers make mention that this prince ſhed tears as he was returning towards the walls of Granada. This city, which had been built near 500 years before by the Mahometans, was at that time in a moſt flouriſhing condition: it had

* 1491.

been

been adorned with that vaſt palace of the Mooriſh kings, in which were the fineſt baths in Europe, and where there were ſeveral halls with arched roofs ſupported by a hundred columns of alabaſter. The luxury which he ſo much regretted, was probably the cauſe of his ruin: to conclude the ſcene, he went and ended his days in Africa.

Ferdinand was conſidered in Europe as the avenger of the cauſe of religion, and as the deliverer of his country. From that time he was called *King of Spain*; and indeed being maſter of Caſtile in right of his wife, of Granada by conqueſt, and of Arragon by birth, he wanted only Navarre, which he afterwards invaded. He had great diſputes with France about Cerdagne and Rouſſillon, which had been mortgaged to Lewis XI. It is eaſy to judge, whether, as king of Sicily, he did not look with a jealous eye on the preparations which Charles VIII. was making for his expedition into Italy, in order to diſpoſſeſs the houſe of Arragon, at that time eſtabliſhed on the throne of Naples.

The Portugueſe began then to deſerve a glory as laſting as the world itſelf, by the general change of commerce, which was ſoon the fruit of their diſcoveries. They were the firſt of the modern nations that navigated the Atlantic ocean. They were indebted to themſelves alone for the paſſage by the Cape of Good Hope; whereas Spain owed the diſcovery of America to foreigners. This is what we ſhall ſeparately treat of in another place.

Portugal was ſo taken up with her great naval expeditions, and with her ſucceſſes in Africa, that ſhe did not concern herſelf in the affairs of Italy, which ingroſſed the attention of the reſt of Europe.

Of

OF ITALY.

I SHALL give here a ſhort view of the different powers of Italy, of their intereſts, and cuſtoms, from the mountains of Dauphiné to the kingdom of Naples.

The ſtate of Savoy was not ſo extenſive as at preſent; it neither had Montferrat nor Saluzzo; it wanted money and trade, nor was it looked upon as a barrier. Its princes were attached to the houſe of France, who lately had diſpoſed of that government in their minority; and the paſſage of the Alps was open.

From Piedmont we deſcend into the dukedom of Milan, the moſt fertile part of Citerior Italy. This was, like Savoy, a principality of the empire, but a powerful principality, very independent at that time of a weak empire. The dukedom of Milan, after having belonged to the family of the Viſcontis, had ſubmitted to the laws of the baſtard of a peaſant, a great man and ſon of a great man. This peaſant was Francis Sforza, who by his merit roſe to be Conſtable of Naples, and to have a conſiderable power in Italy. His ſon, the baſtard, had been one of thoſe *Condottieri*, chief of a diſciplined gang of robbers, who uſed to let themſelves out for hire to the popes, to the Venetians, and to the Neapolitans. He had taken Milan towards the middle of the fifteenth century; and afterwards made himſelf maſter of Genoa, which had formerly been ſo flouriſhing a republic, and which, after having waged war nine different times againſt Venice, was now perpetually changing maſters. The Genoeſe had ſurrendered themſelves to the French in the reign of Charles VI. and ſoon after they revolted. They ſubmitted afterwards to the yoke of

Charles VII. in 1448, and ſhook that off alſo. They offered themſelves to Lewis XI. who anſwered, that they might give themſelves to the devil, but for his part he would have nothing to ſay to them. Then they were obliged, in 1464, to ſurrender alſo to this Duke of Milan, Francis Sforza.

Galeazzo Sforza, * this baſtard's ſon, was murdered in the cathedral of Milan, on St Stephen's day. I mention this circumſtance, which in other reſpects would be frivolous, but here is of great importance. For the murderers prayed to St Stephen and to St Ambroſe with a loud voice, to give them courage enough to aſſaſſinate their ſovereign. Poiſonings, aſſaſſinations, and ſuperſtition, formed at that time the characteriſtic of the people of Italy. They knew how to be revenged, but ſeldom how to fight: They had a great many murderers, and but few ſoldiers. The ſon of this unfortunate Galeazzo Maria, yet an infant, ſucceeded to the dukedom of Milan under the tutelage of his mother, and of the Chancellor Simonetta. But his uncle, whom we call *Ludovic Sforza*, or *Lewis the Moor*, drove away the mother, murdered the Chancellor, and ſoon after poiſoned his nephew.

It was this Lewis the Moor that negotiated with Charles VIII. to make a deſcent into Italy.

Tuſcany, a leſs fruitful country, was in regard to the dukedom of Milan the ſame as Attica compared to Bœotia. For it was now a century ſince Florence had begun to ſignalize itſelf, as we have ſeen, by its commerce and by the liberal arts. The Medicis were at the head of this polite nation. Never was there a family in the univerſe that attained to power by ſo juſt a title, that is, by virtue and beneficence. Coſmus Medici, who was born in 1389, lived as a private citizen of Florence, without ſeeking any great titles; but by commerce he acquired ſuch

* 1476.

immenſe

immenſe wealth as might be compared to that of the greateſt kings in his time. The uſe he made of his riches, was in relieving the poor, in making friends among the rich by lending them money, in imbelliſhing his country with fine ſtructures, and in inviting to Florence the learned Greeks who had been driven from Conſtantinople. During the ſpace of thirty years his counſels were the laws of the republic; and acts of benevolence were his only intrigues. After his deceaſe it appeared by his papers, that he had lent vaſt ſums to his countrymen, the payment of which he never aſked. He died lamented * even by his enemies, and Florence with one conſent adorned his tomb with the name of *Father of his country*; a title which not one of the kings who have gone before us in review, could ever obtain.

His reputation gained his deſcendents the principal authority in Tuſcany. His ſon governed the republic under the name of *Gonfalonier*; his two grandſons, Laurence and Julian, obtained the ſovereignty, but were aſſaſſinated in a church by conſpirators, at the very elevation of the hoſt. † Julian died of his wounds, but Laurence recovered.

This conſpiracy was abetted by Pope Sixtus IV. and had been fomented by the Archbiſhop of Piſa. The Florentines put the citizens concerned in it to death; and the Archbiſhop himſelf was hung from the window of the public palace. Laurence had thus the ſatisfaction of ſeeing his cauſe revenged by his fellow-citizens, whoſe affection he preſerved the remainder of his life. He was ſirnamed *the father of the muſes*, a title not equivalent to that of *father of his country*, but which gives to underſtand that he was ſuch in effect. What an amazing ſpectacle, and how contrary to the manners of our times! to ſee a citizen conſtantly engaged in com-

* 1464. † 1478.

merce, with one hand selling the commodities of the Levant, and with the other supporting the burden of the republic; maintaining factors, and receiving ambassadors; opposing the Pope, making war and peace, giving counsel to princes, cultivating the belles lettres, exhibiting spectacles to the people, and affording reception to all the learned Greeks of Constantinople. His son Peter had the chief authority in Florence at the time of the expedition of the French, but with less credit than his predecessors and his posterity.

Of the Pope's dominions.

THE Pope's dominions were not so extensive as at present; much less were they what they should have been, if the court of Rome had availed itself of the donations which Charlemain is supposed to have made, and of those which were really made by the Countess Matilda. The house of Gonzaga was in possession of Mantua, for which it paid homage to the empire. Several lords, under the name of *vicars of the empire*, or *of the church*, enjoyed very fine estates, which are now in the hands of the popes. Perugia belonged to the house of Bailloni; the Bentivoglios had Bologna; the Polentini Ravenna; * the Manfredi Faenza; the Sforzas Pezaro; the Rimarios possessed Imola and Forli; the house of Este had long reigned in Ferrara, and the Pics at Mirandola. The Roman barons were likewise very powerful at Rome, so as to be called *the Pope's manacles*. The Colonnas and the Ursini, the Conti and the Savelli, first barons and ancient proprietors of the most considerable demesnes, rent the Roman state by their continual quarrels, like those lords who waged war against

* 1451.

each

each other in France and in Germany, during the weakneſs of thoſe governments. The people of Rome, aſſiduous at proceſſions, and with loud cries continually importuning their popes for plenary indulgences, oftentimes roſe up in arms at their death, plundered their palaces, and were ready to throw their bodies into the Tiber. This is what actually happened at the death of Innocent VIII.

After him was choſen Roderigo Borgia, a Spaniard, who took the name of *Alexander* VI. a man whoſe memory has been rendered execrable by the clamour of all Europe, and by the pens of all hiſtorians. The Proteſtants, who in the following centuries revolted againſt the church, have ſwelled the accuſation. We ſhall ſee preſently whether they have over-rated the meaſure of his iniquities. The circumſtances of his exaltation to the pontificate clearly ſhew us the manner and ſpirit of his age, which bears no ſort of reſemblance to ours. The cardinals knew that he had five children living, by his carnal converſation with Vanoza. They muſt have foreſeen, that the riches, the honours, and the authority of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, would centre in this family; and yet they choſe him for their maſter. The heads of the factions in the conclave ſold their own intereſts, together with thoſe of Italy, for a trifle of money.

Of VENICE.

THE dominions of Venice extended from the banks of the lake of Como on the continent to the middle of Dalmatia. The Turks had ſtripped this republic of almoſt all the territories which ſhe had formerly wreſted from the Chriſtian emperors in Greece: but, however, ſhe ſtill kept poſſeſſion of the great iſle of Candia, and had appro-

priated to herſelf the iſle of Cyprus, in 1437, by the donation of the laſt queen, daughter of Marco Cornaro, a Venetian nobleman. But the city of Venice alone was by her induſtry equivalent to Candia and to Cyprus, and to all her territories on the continent; the wealth of other nations centering in this capital, by means of the ſeveral channels of commerce. In ſhort, all the Italian princes were afraid of Venice, while ſhe ſeemed to dread the irruption of the French.

Of NAPLES.

AS to the Neapolitans, a weak, reſtleſs nation, incapable of governing themſelves, of chuſing another king, or of bearing with the prince upon the throne, they were ready to be a prey to the firſt invader.

The old King Fernando was ſtill upon the throne of Naples. He was a baſtard of the houſe of Arragon; but illegitimacy at that time did not exclude from the crown. It was a baſtard-race that reigned in Caſtile: it was likewiſe the Baſtard-race of Don Pedro the Severe that ſat upon the throne of Portugal. Fernando, who had no other title to the crown of Naples, had received the inveſtiture from the Pope, in prejudice to the heirs of the houſe of Anjou, who laid claim to their right. But he was neither beloved by the Pope his lord paramount, nor by his ſubjects. He died in 1494, leaving an unfortunate family behind him, whom Charles VIII. deprived of the crown for another to enjoy it.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the conqueſt of Naples. Of Zizim, brother of Bajazet II. *Of Pope Alexander* VI. *&c.*

SO intoxicated were Charles VIII. his council, and his young courtiers, with the project of conquering the kingdom of Naples, that he ſurrendered Franche-Comté and Artois, part of his wife's ſpoils, to Maximilian; and reſtored Cerdagne and Rouſſillon to Ferdinand the Catholic, to whom he likewiſe paid a debt of 300,000 crowns, on condition that he would not interrupt his expedition. He did not reflect, that twelve villages contiguous to a ſtate are of more value than a kingdom 400 leagues from home. He committed likewiſe another error, which was truſting the Catholic King.

At length Charles made a deſcent into Italy. His whole army conſiſted of 1600 gendarmes, who, with their bowmen, compoſed a body of 5000 horſe heavily armed, 200 gentlemen of his life-guard, 500 light horſe, 6000 French infantry, and 6000 Swiſs; and ſo ill was he provided with money, that he was obliged to borrow ſome on the road, and to pledge the jewels lent him by the Ducheſs of Savoy. Yet his march ſpread terror and ſubmiſſion through the country. The Italians were ſurpriſed to ſee the heavy artillery drawn by horſes, they who were acquainted only with ſmall culverines of copper drawn by oxen. The Italian cavalry was compoſed of a ſort of bullies, who let themſelves out at a very extravagant price to the *Condottieri*; and theſe obliged the ſeveral princes to pay ſtill at a much dearer rate for their dangerous ſervice. Thoſe captains took particular names to frighten the populace. One was called *Cut-thigh*, another *Arm-ſtrong*, another *Havock*, &c. They were

were greatly afraid of loſing their men; for which reaſon they ſtrove to overbear the enemy with their weight, but ſeldom choſe to come to blows. Thoſe who loſt the field were vanquiſhed. There was more blood ſpilt in private quarrels, and in conſpiracies within the town-walls, than in engagements in the field. Machiavel relates, that in a battle fought in thoſe days, only one trooper loſt his life, who was ſuffocated in the croud. They were all now frightened at the thoughts of a war, in which there muſt be downright fighting; ſo that none of them durſt lift up their heads. Pope Alexander VI. the Venetians, and Lewis the Moor, Duke of Milan, who had invited the King into Italy, wanted to traverſe his deſigns as ſoon as he arrived. Peter of Medicis, who had been obliged to ſue for his protection, was for this very reaſon expelled the republic. He retired to Venice, from whence he durſt not ſtir, notwithſtanding the King's protection; being more afraid of the private revenge of his countrymen, than confident in being ſupported by the French.

Charles enters Florence in triumph; from thence he proceeds to Sienna, which he frees from the yoke of the Tuſcans, who ſoon after reduced it to its former ſubjection.

From thence he marches on to Rome, where Alexander VI. was negotiating in vain againſt him. Here he makes his public entrance like a conqueror. The Pope flies to the caſtle of St Angelo; but ſeeing the French artillery pointed againſt thoſe weak walls, he ſubmits.

* It coſt the Pope little more than a cardinal's hat to pacify the King. Briſſonet, who, from a preſident of the accounts, was become an archbiſhop, adviſed the King to this accommodation, which procured him the purple. Kings are frequently

* 1494.

well

well ſerved by their ſubjects when they are cardinals, but very ſeldom while they are aſpiring to this dignity. The King's confeſſor took part in the intrigue. It was Charles's intereſt to depoſe the Pope; but he forgave him, and repented it afterwards. Never was there a pope more deſerving of the indignation of a Chriſtian king. The Venetians and he had addreſſed themſelves to the Turkiſh Sultan Bajazet II. ſon and ſucceſſor of Mahomet II. to help them to drive Charles VIII. out of Italy. Several writers affirm, that the Pope had ſent a nuncio, named *Bozzo*, to the Porte; and from thence it was concluded, that the union between the Grand Signior and the Pontiff was to be purchaſed by one of thoſe atrocious murders, of which they began now to conceive ſome horror, even in the ſeraglio.

By a chain of very extraordinary events, the Pope had *Zizim*, or *Gem*, brother of Bajazet, in his power. The manner in which this ſon of Mahomet II. fell into the hands of the Pope, is as follows.

Zizim, the darling of the Turks, had diſputed the empire with Bajazet, whom they deteſted: but, notwithſtanding the affection of the people, he was defeated. In his diſtreſs he fled to the knights of Rhodes, now of Malta, to whom he had ſent an ambaſſador. At firſt he was received as a prince to whom hoſpitality was due, and who might be of ſervice to them; but ſoon after he was treated as a priſoner. Bajazet paid the knights 40,000 zequins a-year, to hinder Zizim from returning to Turky. The knights carried him to one of their commanderies in Poictou, called *le Bourneuf*. Charles VIII received at the ſame time an ambaſſador from Bajazet, and a nuncio from Pope Innocent VIII. the predeceſſor of Alexander, in regard to this illuſtrious captive. The Sultan demanded him, and the Pope

wanted

wanted to have him as a pledge of the security of Italy against the Turks. Charles sent Zizim to the Pope, who received him with all the splendor that the sovereign of Rome could affect before the brother of the sovereign of Constantinople. They wanted to oblige him to kiss the Pope's feet; but Bosso, an ocular witness, assures us, that the Turkish prince rejected this servility with indignation. Paul Jovius says, that Alexander VI. contracted for the murder of Zizim, by a treaty with the Sultan. Charles's head was so full of his vast projects, that he thought himself sure of the conquest of Naples; and flattering himself with the hopes of becoming formidable also to Bajazet, he wanted to have this unfortunate brother again in his power. According to Paul Jovius, he was given up by the Pope, after he had been poisoned: but it is uncertain whether the poison was administered to him by a domestic of the Pope, or by a private messenger from the Grand Signior. It was given out, however, that Bajazet had promised the Pope 300,000 ducats for his brother's head.

Prince Demetrius Cantemir says, that, according to the Turkish annals, Zizim's barber cut this prince's throat, and was rewarded for this villanous service, by being made Grand Vizir. But it is not probable, that they should raise a barber to be minister and general of the empire. Besides, if Zizim had been murdered in this manner, King Charles VIII. who sent back his body to his brother, would have known what kind of death he died of; and cotemporary writers would also have mentioned it. Prince Cantemir, and the accusers of Alexander VI. may be alike mistaken: the hatred the public bore to this pontiff was such, that they suspected him of every crime he was capable of committing.

After the Pope had sworn not to disturb the King any more in his conquest, he came out of his confinement,

finement, and made his appearance as a pontiff on the Vatican throne. There, in a public consistory, the King came to pay what is called *the homage of obedience*, attended by John de Gannai, first president of the parliament of Paris, who, one would think, ought to have been present any where else rather than at such a ceremony. The King kissed the feet of a person, whom two days before he had arraigned as a criminal; and, to complete the farce, he served Pope Alexander's mass. Guicciardin, a cotemporary author of very great credit, assures us, that at church the King took his seat below the dean of the cardinals. We ought not therefore to be so greatly surprised, that Cardinal de Bouillon, Dean of the sacred college, adhering to these ancient usages, should in our days have wrote to Lewis XIV. *I am going to take the first place in the Christian world next to the first of all.*

Charlemain had caused himself to be declared Emperor of the West at Rome; and Charles VIII. was in the same place declared Emperor of the East, but in a very different manner. One of the Paleologi, nephew to him who lost the empire and his life, made an useless renunciation of what was no longer to be recovered, in favour of Charles VIII. and of his successors.

After this ceremony Charles marched his army into the kingdom of Naples. Alphonso II. who had lately succeeded to that crown, hated by his subjects as much as his father, and terrified at the approach of the French, gave the world an example of a new kind of cowardice. He fled privately to Messina, and took on the habit among the Olivetan monks. His son Fernando succeeded to the crown, but could not re-establish his affairs, which his father's abdication seemed to have rendered desperate. Finding himself quickly abandoned by the Neapolitans, he discharged them from their oath of allegiance;

giance; after which he retired to the little iſle of Iſchia, ſituated within a few miles of Naples.

Charles being now maſter of the kingdom, and arbiter of Italy, entered Naples in triumph, without almoſt ſtriking a blow. Here he prematurely took the titles of *Auguſtus*, and of *Emperor*. But at this time almoſt all Europe were underhand endeavouring to diſpoſſeſs him of the crown of Naples. The Pope, the Venetians, Lewis the Moor, the Emperor Maximilian, Ferdinand of Aragon, and Iſabella of Caſtile, entered into a league for this very purpoſe. Charles ought to have foreſeen this confederacy, and to have been able to make head againſt it, before he undertook this expedition. He ſet out upon his return for France five months after leaving that kingdom; but ſuch was either his ſtupidity, or his contempt for the Neapolitans, or rather his weak condition, that he left only 4 or 5000 French behind him to preſerve his conqueſt.

Upon his return, near Placentia, not far from the village of Fornova, rendered famous by that very day, he found the confederate army about 30,000 ſtrong, while he himſelf had only 8000. If he had loſt the day, he muſt have loſt either his liberty or his life: by winning it, he could gain only the advantage of making a retreat. Then he ſhewed what great feats he might have done in this expedition, if his prudence had been equal to his courage. The Italians ſoon gave way, and yielded him a very cheap victory; for he did not loſe above 200 men, while the confederates loſt 4000. Such is generally the advantage of a ſmall body of diſciplined troops, commanded by their king, over a multitude of mercenaries. The Venetians reckoned it a victory to have plundered ſome of the King's baggage; and indeed his tent was carried in triumph through the city of Venice. By this victory Charles ſecured

red his retreat to France; but he left behind him the half of his little army in the neighbourhood of Novara, in the dukedom of Milan, where the Duke of Orleans was soon surrounded.

The confederates had it still in their power to attack him with great advantage; but they would not venture. We cannot, said they, withstand *la furia Francese*. The French fared exactly in Italy as the English had done in France; they were victorious with small armies, and yet they lost their conquests.

When the King arrived at Turin, he was surprised to see a chamberlain from Pope Alexander VI. who commanded him to withdraw his troops from the dukedom of Milan, and from the kingdom of Naples, and to come and give an account of his conduct to the holy father, upon pain of excommunication. This bravado would have only excited laughter, if the Pope's conduct in other respects had not been a very serious subject of complaint.

The King came back to France, and shewed himself as careless about preserving, as he had been expeditious in making his conquests. Frederick, uncle of Fernando, the dethroned King of Naples, laid claim to the crown after Fernando's death, and recovered in a single month that whole kingdom, with the help of Gonsalvo of Cordova, known by the name of *the Great Captain*; whom Ferdinand of Arragon, surnamed *the Catholic*, sent to his assistance.

The Duke of Orleans, who, not long after, succeeded to the crown of France, thought himself very lucky in being suffered to march out of Novara. In fine, there soon remained not the least sign of this great torrent which had overwhelmed Italy: and Charles VIII. after a very transient glory, died without children, at the age of near eight and twenty, leaving to Lewis XII. his first example to follow, and his mistakes to repair *.

* 1498.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of Savanarola.

BEFORE we ſhew in what manner Lewis XII. aſſerted his right to Italy, and what was the fate at length of this fine country, which had been rent ſo long by ſuch a number of factions, and diſputed by ſo many powers, and in what manner the popes formed the ſtate which they are at preſent poſſeſſed of; it is proper we give ſome attention to an extraordinary fact, which at that time exerciſed the credulity of Europe, and diſplayed the power of fanaticiſm.

There was at Florence a Dominican friar, named *Jerome Savanarola.* This man was one of thoſe preachers, whoſe talent of haranguing from the pulpit makes them believe that they are able to govern nations; one of thoſe theologians, who, after writing comments on the Apocalypſe, imagine they are endowed with the gift of prophecy. He directed, he preached, he heard confeſſions, he wrote; and in a free city, neceſſarily divided into factions, he wanted to be at the head of a party.

As ſoon as the principal citizens knew that Charles VIII. was projecting an expedition into Italy, he foretold it, and the common people thought him inſpired. He declaimed againſt Pope Alexander VI.; he encouraged likewiſe ſuch of his countrymen as perſecuted the Medicis, and had ſpilt the blood of the friends of this family. Never had man in Florence a greater influence over the minds of the vulgar. He was become a kind of tribune of the people, by cauſing the artificers to be admitted into the magiſtracy. To be revenged of him, the Pope and the Medicis had recourſe to the ſame arms as thoſe made uſe of by Savanarola: they ſent a Franciſcan

ciſcan friar to preach againſt him. The order of St Francis hated that of St Dominic more than the Guelfs hated the Gibellines. The Franciſcan ſucceeded in making the Dominican odious: upon which the two orders came to open war. At length a Dominican offered to walk through a kindled pile of wood, in order to prove the ſanctity of Savanarola. A Franciſcan propoſed likewiſe the ſame ordeal, to prove Savanarola an impoſtor. The people, naturally greedy of ſuch a ſpectacle, inſiſted on its being exhibited; and the magiſtrates were at length obliged to comply. Their minds were ſtill prepoſſeſſed with the old fable of Aldobrandinus, ſirnamed *Petrus Igneus*, who, in the eleventh century, had paſſed and repaſſed on burning coals in the middle of two piles of wood; and the partiſans of Savanarola made no doubt but God would do for a Jacobine what he had done for a Benedictine. The contrary faction expected as much in favour of the Cordelier.

The piles were ſet on fire, and the champions entered the liſts, in the preſence of an innumerable multitude of people. But when they both ſaw the pile on flames, they both trembled; and their common fear ſuggeſted to them a common evaſion. The Dominican would not mount the pile, except he had the hoſt in his hand; and the Cordelier pretended, that this was a clauſe which had not been agreed upon. They both inſiſted obſtinately on their point; and by thus helping each other to get out of the ſcrape, the public were deprived of the ſhocking comedy which they had ſo greedily expected.

The mob were ſo incenſed by the party of the Cordeliers, that they wanted to lay hold on Savanarola; which the magiſtrates perceiving, ordered this friar to withdraw: but though he had the Pope, the faction of the Medicis, and the

people against him, he refused to obey. He was taken, and put seven times to the torture. The extract of his deposition mentions, that he acknowledged himself to be a false prophet, a cheat, who abused the secret of auricular confessions, as well as those that were revealed to him by his brethren. Might not he well own himself an impostor? Is not a person that pretends to inspiration, and yet concerns himself in state-intrigues, convicted of being a cheat? Perhaps he was more of the fanatic. The human imagination is capable of joining these two extremes, which seem so opposite. If justice alone had condemned him, imprisonment and penance would have been sufficient: but the spirit of party was concerned in the affair. He and two other Dominicans were sentenced to the flames which they had so boldly defied: they were strangled, however, before they were thrown into the fire *. The partisans of Savanarola did not fail to attribute miracles to him, the last shift of the adherents of an unhappy chief. Let us not forget to mention, that when he was condemned, Alexander VI. sent him a plenary indulgence.

CHAP. XIX.

Of Pope Alexander VI. *and of King Lewis* XII.

POPE Alexander VI. had two great points in view, to recover the territories which were pretended to have been dismembered from the Roman see, and to procure a crown for his son Cæsar Borgia. The scandalous conduct of this pontiff made no diminution of his authority; nor did the people of Rome ever rise up against him. The public voice accused him of an incestuous commerce

* 1498.

with

with his own daughter Lucretia, whom he forced away from three husbands successively, (the last of whom, Alphonso of Arragon, he caused to be assassinated), to marry her at length to the heir of the house of Este. These nuptials were celebrated in the Vatican, with rejoicings the most infamous, and the most shocking to modesty, that human licentiousness ever invented. Fifty naked courtezans danced before this incestuous family, and prizes were given to those who displayed the most wanton movements. It was the public report, that this Pope's sons, the Duke of Gandia, and Cæsar Borgia, then Deacon, Archbishop of Valentia in Spain, and Cardinal, had quarrelled for the favours of their sister Lucretia. The Duke of Gandia was assassinated at Rome, and Cæsar Borgia was suspected of having had a hand in the murder. As the personal estates of the cardinals devolved to the Pope after their decease, there was a strong presumption that the Borgias had hastened the death of many a cardinal, whose effects they wanted to inherit. And yet the people of Rome were all submissive, and all the powers of Europe courted Alexander.

Lewis XII. King of France, and successor to Charles VIII. seemed more eager than any other prince to enter into a strict alliance with this pontiff: for which he had more reasons than one. He wanted to be divorced from his wife, the daughter of Lewis XI. with whom he had consummated his marriage, and who had lived with him two and twenty years without bearing any children. No other law but that of nature could authorise this divorce; and yet dislike, and state-policy, rendered it necessary.

Anne of Britany, the widow of Charles VIII. preserved for Lewis XII. the same inclination she had felt for the Duke of Orleans; and unless he had married her, he must have parted with Britany.

It was an ancient but dangerous cuſtom, for princes to addreſs themſelves to Rome, either to obtain leave to marry their relations, or to be divorced from their wives. For, as ſuch marriages, or ſuch divorces, were frequently neceſſary to the ſtate, the tranquillity of a nation muſt conſequently have depended on the fancy or diſpoſition of a pope, who was oftentimes an enemy to the kingdom.

The other reaſon which connected Lewis XII. with Alexander VI. was his unhappy pretenſions to ſeveral ſtates in Italy. He laid claim to the duchy of Milan, becauſe his grandmother had been ſiſter of a Viſconti who formerly poſſeſſed this principality. In oppoſition to this claim, the Italians might have pleaded preſcription, and the inveſtiture given by the Emperor Maximilian to Lewis the Moor, whoſe niece this Emperor had married.

The rights of Lewis XII. to Naples were the ſame as thoſe of Charles VIII.

Cæſar Borgia, the Pope's baſtard, was commiſſioned to carry the bull of divorce into France, and to treat with the King about all theſe projects. Borgia would not ſtir from Rome, till he had been aſſured of the duchy of Valentinois, of a company of 100 gendarmes, and likewiſe of a penſion of 100,000 livres ſettled upon him by Lewis XII. with a promiſe of prevailing on the King of Navarre's ſiſter to marry this archbiſhop. Thus Cæſar Borgia, from a deacon and an archbiſhop, became a layman: and the Pope, his father, granted a diſpenſation at the ſame time to his ſon, and to the King of France; to the one to quit the church, to the other to quit his wife. The agreement was ſoon made; and Lewis XII. prepared for a new expedition into Italy.

He had the Venetians on his ſide, who were to ſhare part of the ſpoils of the dukedom of Milan: they had already taken the country of Breſcia and Bergamo;

Bergamo; and wanted at leaſt the whole territory of Cremona, to which they had no more right than to the city of Conſtantinople.

The Emperor Maximilian ought naturally to have defended his father-in-law and his vaſſal, the Duke of Milan, againſt France, his natural enemy: but he was not then in a capacity of defending any body. He was ſcarce able to maintain his ground againſt the Swiſs, who had but juſt ſtript the houſe of Auſtria of what territories it had ſtill left in their country. Maximilian therefore was obliged, in this conjuncture, to look on with a ſeeming indifference.

Lewis XII. quietly put an end to ſome diſputes between him and this Emperor's ſon, Philip the Handſome, father of Charles V. and maſter of the Low Countries; in conſequence of which, Philip paid homage in perſon to France, for the counties of Flanders and Artois. The Chancellor Guy of Rochefort received this homage at Arras. Being ſeated and covered, he held the Prince's hands between his own, while the Prince ſtanding uncovered, and without ſword or girdle, pronounced theſe words, *I yield homage to the King for my peerages of Flanders and of Artois*, &c.

The King of France having likewiſe renewed the treaties of Charles VIII. with England, and put his kingdom in a ſtate of defence on all ſides, at leaſt for ſome time, marched his army over the Alps. It is remarkable, that, entering upon this war, inſtead of increaſing he diminiſhed the taxes, and that by this indulgence he firſt acquired the title of *Father of his people*. But he ſold ſeveral offices which are called *royal*, and eſpecially thoſe belonging to the finances. Would it not have been much better, to have eſtabliſhed an equal aſſeſſment of taxes, than to have introduced the ſhameful venality

lity of public employments, into a country of which he wanted to be esteemed the father?

The army which Lewis XII. sent beyond the Alps, was not much stronger than that with which Charles VIII. had conquered the kingdom of Naples. But what must appear very extraordinary, is, that Lewis the Moor, who was no more than Duke of Milan, Parma, and Placentia, and Lord of Genoa, had as considerable an army as that of the King of France.

* Here again we have another instance of what the *furia Francese* could do against Italian cunning. The King's army, in ten days, made themselves masters of the states of Milan and of Genoa, while the Venetians took possession of the territory of Cremona.

After Lewis had taken these fair provinces by his generals, he made his public entry into Milan; where he received the deputies of all the states of Italy, as if he had been their lord paramount. But scarce was he returned to Lyons, when the French, by their remissness, which is generally the consequence of their first impetuosity, lost the dukedom of Milan, in the same manner as they had lost Naples. In this short interval of success, Lewis the Moor † paid a ducat of gold for the head of every Frenchman that was brought him. The King of France resolving to make another push, sent Lewis de la Trimouille to repair the mistakes committed in Italy; and the French forced their way again into the duchy of Milan. The Swiss, who, ever since the reign of Charles VIII. made use of their liberty to let themselves out for hire, were in great numbers both in the French and Milanese armies.

This nation, hitherto as respectable as the Lacedæmonians, whom they resembled in their poverty, in their equality, in their liberty and courage,

* 1499. † 1500.

sullied

sullied their glory by the love of money. The Duke of Milan was at Novara, where he trusted them with his person preferably to the Italians. But far from meriting this confidence, they made their terms with the French. All that Lewis the Moor could obtain, was, to be suffered to accompany them in a Swiss dress, and with an halbert in his hand *. Thus he passed in disguise, in the midst of the French army; when those who had sold him, soon made him known. He was taken, and carried to Pierre-encise, and from thence to the same tower of Bourges where Lewis XII. had been confined: he was removed afterwards to Loches, where he lived ten years longer, not in an iron cage, as is vulgarly believed, but waited upon with distinction, and permitted, the last years of his life, to walk abroad within five leagues of the castle.

Lewis XII. being now master of the duchy of Milan and of Genoa, wanted also to be possessed of the kingdom of Naples; but he had reason to be afraid of this same Ferdinand the Catholic, who had already driven the French out of that kingdom.

As he had therefore joined with the Venetians to conquer the duchy of Milan, the spoils of which they divided betwixt them; so now he united with Ferdinand to subdue the kingdom of Naples. The Catholic King chose rather to strip than to assist a prince of his own house; so that, by a treaty concluded with France, he made a partition of this kingdom, where then reigned Frederick, the last king of the bastard-branch of Arragon. Ferdinand kept Apulia and Calabria for himself; the rest was designed for France. Pope Alexander VI. the ally of Lewis XII. enters into this confederacy against an innocent monarch his feudatory, and grants to the two kings the investiture which he had already

* 1500.

given

given to the King of Naples. The Catholic King dispatches this same general Gonsalvo di Cordova to Naples, under the pretence of defending, but in reality to oppress his relation. The French army arrives, partly by land, and partly is transported by sea. As for the Neapolitans, they are not accustomed to fight for their kings.

* The unfortunate monarch, betrayed by his relation, pressed by the French forces, and bereft of all succour, chose rather to trust himself into the hands of Lewis XII. whom he looked upon as a generous prince, than to venture himself with the Catholic King, from whom he had received such perfidious treatment. He applied therefore to the French for a passport to quit his kingdom; and arriving soon after in France with five galleys, he received a pension from the King of 120,000 livres. Strange fate of a sovereign!

Thus we see, that Lewis XII. had at the same time a duke of Milan prisoner, and a king of Naples attending his court in the quality of a pensioner: and, moreover, the republic of Genoa was reduced to a French province. The people were very little taxed; so that France was one of the most flourishing kingdoms in the world: it wanted only the improvements of commerce and of the polite arts, which seemed to be the peculiar glory of Italy.

CHAP. XX.

Wicked attempts of the family of Alexander VI. *and of Cæsar Borgia. The transactions of Lewis* XII. *with Ferdinand the Catholic, continued. Death of Pope Alexander* VI.

ALEXANDER VI. was then doing in little what Lewis XII. was executing in great. He was

subduing

subduing the fiefs of Romagna by the arms of his son. Every thing seemed to contribute to the rising greatness of this son, but he did not enjoy it long. Contrary to his intention, he was toiling only to increase the territories of the church.

Every act of violence, every base artifice, every exertion of courage or of villany that can be mentioned, were all employed by Cæsar Borgia. To subdue eight or ten small towns, and to get rid of a few lords, he used more art than the Alexanders, the Gengiskans, the Tamerlanes, or the Mahomets had employed to conquer a great part of the world. Indulgences were to raise an army; and Cardinal Bembo assures us, that, in the dominions of Venice alone, they disposed of to the value of near 1600 marks of gold. They raised the tenth penny on all the revenues of the church, under the pretext of a war against the Turks, when they had only a little war at the gates of Rome.

Borgia begins with seizing on the towns belonging to the Colonnas and the Savellis in the neighbourhood of Rome: then, partly by force and partly by cunning, he makes himself master of Forli, Faenza, Rimini, Imola, and Piombino: and in these conquests, treachery, assassination, and poisoning, are part of his arms. He demands, in the Pope's name, artillery and troops of the Duke of Urbino: the Duke supplies him; and he employs them against the Duke himself, to strip him of his dukedom. He inveigles the lord of the town of Camerino into a conference, and strangles him, with his two sons. He prevails, by means of the most solemn oaths, on four lords, the Duke of Gravina, Oliverotto, Pagolo, and Vitelli, to come and treat with him in the neighbourhood of Sinigaglia: the ambush was laid, and he unmercifully massacred Vitelli and Oliverotto. Would one imagine that Vitelli, as he was expiring, begged of the murderer to

to obtain of the Pope, his father, an indulgence for him in the article of death? And yet this is mentioned by cotemporary writers. Nothing can be a ſtronger proof of human weakneſs, nor of the force of opinion. If Cæſar Borgia had died before Alexander VI. of the poiſon which they are ſaid to have prepared for the cardinals, and to have drank themſelves, I ſhould not be ſurpriſed that Borgia, at his laſt gaſp, had aſked a plenary indulgence of the Pope his father.

At the ſame time, Alexander VI. laid hold of the friends of thoſe unfortunate noblemen, and ordered them to be ſtrangled in the caſtle of St Angelo. But what is moſt lamentable is, that Lewis XII. the father of his people, favoured theſe barbarities; reſigning the blood of theſe victims to the Pope, in order to obtain his aſſiſtance in the conqueſt of Naples. From a motive of policy, or ſtate-intereſt, he became guilty of injuſtice in favour of Alexander VI. But what kind of policy was it, what intereſt of ſtate, to encourage the horrid cruelties of a man who ſoon after betrayed him?

It was the fortune of the French to conquer Naples, and their fate ſoon after to loſe it. Ferdinand the Catholic, who had deceived his relation, the laſt king of Naples, was not more faithful to Lewis XII.; for he ſoon agreed with Alexander VI. to deprive the King of France of his ſhare of the ſpoils.

Gonſalvo of Cordova, who ſo well deſerved the title of a *great captain*, but not of a virtuous man, he who ſaid, that the cloth of honour ought to be home-ſpun, at firſt deceived, and then defeated the French. Methinks the French generals were more remarkable for that courage which honour inſpires, than for any abilities they could boaſt of in the conduct of great affairs. The troops of this nation were commanded by a deſcendent of Clovis, the Duke

Duke of Nemours, who challenged Gonsalvo to fight him in single combat. Gonsalvo answered him by beating his army several times, and especially at Cerignola in Apulia, where Nemours was slain, with 4000 French *. It is said, that only nine Spaniards were killed in this battle; an evident sign that Gonsalvo had chosen an advantageous post, that Nemours wanted military skill, and that his troops were disheartened. In vain did the famous Chevalier Bayard withstand alone the attack of 200 of the enemy on a narrow bridge. This was a glorious, but useless effort of valour.

In this war a new method was invented of destroying mankind. Peter of Navarre, a soldier of fortune, and a celebrated Spanish general, invented the springing of mines, the first effects of which were felt by the French.

And yet France was so powerful at that time, that Lewis XII. was able to send three armies into the field, and one fleet to sea. Of these three armies one was designed for Naples, the other two for Roussillon and for Fontarabia. But none of those armies made any progress, and that of Naples was soon entirely dispersed; so bad was the conduct of the French, compared to that of the *Great Captain*. In short, Lewis irretrievably lost his share of the kingdom of Naples.

† Italy, not long after, was delivered of Alexander VI. and his son. Historians unanimously are pleased to transmit to posterity, that this pope died of a poison which he had designed at a feast for several cardinals; an exit indeed becoming his life. But the fact is not very probable. They pretend, that, upon a pressing occasion for money, he wanted to enjoy the inheritance of those cardinals. But it is well attested, that Cæsar Borgia carried away 100,000 ducats of gold out of his father's treas-

* 1503. † 1503.

after his deceaſe: therefore he could not be in any real want. Beſides, how could they have been ſo miſtaken in that poiſoned bottle of wine, which is ſaid to have been the cauſe of the Pope's death, and to have brought the ſon to the brink of his grave? Perſons ſo long experienced in villany, ſeldom leave room for ſuch a miſtake. They mention no body that ever avowed the fact. How came they then to the knowledge of it? If the cauſe of the Pope's death had been known at the time he died, it would have been known to the very perſons whom he wanted to poiſon. If ſo, they would not have left ſuch a crime unpuniſhed; they would not have ſuffered Borgia quietly to take poſſeſſion of his father's treaſure. The people who hold ſuch maſters in abhorrence, having been kept in ſubjection under Alexander, would have broke through reſtraint at his death: they would have interrupted the funeral pomp of this monſter, and torn his abominable ſon to pieces. In fine, the journal of the houſe of Borgia mentions, that the Pope, being ſeventy-two years old, was attacked with an intermitting fever, which ſoon became continual, and proved mortal. Surely this is not the effect of poiſon. It is moreover ſaid, that the Duke of Borgia cauſed himſelf to be ſewn up in the belly of a mule. I ſhould be glad to know, againſt what poiſon is a mule's belly an antidote? It is true there was a tumult in Rome after the Pope's deceaſe; and the Colonnas and the Urſinis returned to that capital with armed force. But this very tumult would have been a proper occaſion for ſolemnly accuſing the father and the ſon of ſo horrid a crime. Finally, Pope Julius II. the mortal enemy of this family, and who had the Duke a long time in his power, did not charge him with what he had been accuſed of by the public voice.

But, on the other hand, why ſhould Cardinal Bembo, Guicciardin, Paul Jovius, Tomaſi, and ſo many

many other cotemporaries, agree in this ſtrange accuſation? whence are ſo many circumſtances derived? how came they to name the kind of poiſon, which was called *Cantarella?* We may anſwer, that it is not difficult for accuſers to invent, and that ſo horrid a charge ſhould have been ſupported by ſome probable arguments.

Alexander VI. left behind him a memory far more odious than that of the Neros and of the Caligulas, becauſe a greater degree of guilt was implied in the ſanctity of his character. And yet it is to him that Rome is indebted for her temporal grandeur; it is he that enabled his ſucceſſors ſometimes to hold the balance of Italy. His ſon loſt the whole fruit of his crimes, which was gathered by the church. Almoſt all the towns which he had ſeized upon, ſurrendered themſelves to others, as ſoon as his father died; and Pope Julius II. afterwards obliged him to deliver up the reſt; ſo that he was quickly ſtript of all his fatal grandeur.

According to Machiavel, his meaſures were ſo well concerted, that he bid fair for becoming maſter of Rome, and of all the eccleſiaſtic ſtate, after the death of his father; but little did he foreſee that he himſelf ſhould be at death's door at the time when Alexander was expiring. Friends, enemies, allies, relations, all the world in ſhort, in a little time, either abandoned or betrayed him. The Great Captain, Gonſalvo of Cordova, to whom he ſurrendered himſelf, ſent him priſoner into Spain. Lewis XII. took from him his duchy of Valentinois and his penſion. At length he made his eſcape out of priſon, and took ſhelter in Navarre, where he was killed in an inſurrection or ſkirmiſh; and his death was as obſcure, as his life had been notoriouſly criminal.

CHAP. XXI.

The political affairs of Lewis XII. *continued.*

THE French might have recovered Naples, in the ſame manner as they retook Milan; but the ambition of Lewis XII.'s firſt miniſter was the cauſe of this ſtate's being irrecoverably loſt. Cardinal Chaumont d'Amboiſe, Archbiſhop of Roan, a prelate ſo much extolled for having had only one benefice, but to whom the adminiſtration of a whole realm was ſurely as good as a ſecond, wanted to have another of a more exalted nature. He aimed at being Pope after the death of Alexander VI. and they would have been forced to elect him, had his policy been equal to his ambition. He had money at command; and the troops deſigned againſt the kingdom of Naples were at the gates of Rome: but the Italian cardinals perſuaded him to remove this army to ſome diſtance, that his election might appear more free, and be conſequently more valid. Accordingly he called off the troops, and then Cardinal Julian de la Rovere made them elect Pope Pius III. * who died at the end of twenty-ſeven days: afterwards this Cardinal Julian was choſen Pope himſelf, under the name of *Julius* II. In the mean time the rainy ſeaſon hindered the French from paſſing the Garigliano time enough, and favoured the deſigns of Gonſalvo of Cordova. Thus the Cardinal d'Amboiſe, though eſteemed a man of abilities, loſt the triple crown himſelf, and was the cauſe of his maſter's loſing a kingdom.

He has been reproached with a ſecond fault of another kind, the incomprehenſible treaty of Blois, in which the King's council with the ſtroke of a pen

* 1503.

were

were for dismembering and destroying the French monarchy. By this treaty the King was to give his only daughter, by Anne of Britany, to the grandson of the Emperor, and of King Ferdinand of Arragon, both his enemies; to that very prince, who, under the name of *Charles* V. became so formidable to France and to Europe. Who would have imagined that her dowry was to consist of the duchies of Britany and Burgundy, and of Milan and Genoa, which were to be evacuated, and all right to those territories resigned? This is what Lewis XII. was going to give away from France, in case he died without issue-male. So extraordinary a treaty cannot be excused, but by saying that the King and Cardinal d'Amboise had no intention to keep it, and, in short, that the Cardinal had learned of Ferdinand the art of dissimulation.

* The states-general were assembled at Tours, where they protested against this fatal partition. Perhaps the King, who repented what he had done, had the cunning to make the whole kingdom apply to him for a revocation of what he durst not revoke himself. Perhaps he was persuaded to yield to the remonstrances of the nation. Be that as it may, the heiress of Anne of Britany was hindered from marrying the heir of the house of Austria and of Spain, as Anne herself had been hindered from marrying the Emperor Maximilian. She was married to the Count of Angoulême, afterwards Francis I.; by which means Britany, that had been twice united to France, and twice had been very near falling under another power, was incorporated with the kingdom; and Burgundy was prevented from being dismembered.

Another fault laid to his charge, was the confederacy into which he entered with all his secret enemies against the Venetians his allies. This indeed

* 1506.

was a moſt extraordinary and unexampled event, that ſo many kings ſhould conſpire the ruin of a republic, which 300 years before was from a town of fiſhermen become the ſeat of opulence and commerce.

CHAP. XXII.

Of the league of Cambray, and the conſequence of it. Of Pope Julius II. *&c.*

POPE Julius II. a native of Savona in the dominions of Genoa, with indignation beheld his country groaning under the yoke of France. The Genoeſe had about that time made an attempt to recover their ancient liberty, for which they were puniſhed by Lewis XII. with greater haughtineſs than ſeverity. He entered the city of Genoa with his drawn ſword, and ordered all their charters and privileges to be burnt in his preſence; then erecting a throne on a ſuperb ſcaffold in the great market-place, he made the Genoeſe come to the foot of the ſcaffold, and hear their ſentence upon their knees. But he condemned them only to a fine of 100,000 gold crowns, and built a citadel which he called *the bridle of Genoa.*

The Pope, like the reſt of his predeceſſors, would have been glad to drive all foreigners out of Italy, and of courſe to ſend the French back beyond the Alps; but he wanted firſt of all the Venetians to join him, and to reſtore ſeveral towns which were claimed by the holy ſee. The greateſt part of theſe towns had been wreſted from their right owners by Cæſar Borgia, Duke of Valentinois: and the Venetians, ever watchful over their own intereſts, had, immediately after the death of Alexander VI. made themſelves maſters of Rimini, Faenza, and of a great

great many eſtates in the diſtricts of Bologna and Ferrara, as alſo in the duchy of Urbin. They wanted to preſerve theſe acquiſitions; which Julius II. perceiving, made the French ſubſervient to his deſigns againſt Venice, though a little before he had ſolicited the Venetians to arm againſt France. But he was not ſatisfied with having France on his ſide; he made all Europe join in the league.

There were very few ſovereigns but had claims on this republic. The Emperor Maximilian had unlimited pretenſions as Emperor; and moreover Verona, Vicenza, Padova, the marquiſate of Trevigo, and Friuli, were conveniently ſituated for him. Ferdinand, the Catholic King of Arragon, might retake ſeveral maritime towns in the kingdom of Naples, which he had pledged to the Venetians. This would have been an eaſy way of diſcharging his debts. The King of Hungary had pretenſions to part of Dalmatia. The Duke of Savoy might likewiſe put in his claim to the iſle of Cyprus, becauſe he was related to the houſe of Cyprus, which no longer exiſted. The Florentines, in quality of neighbours, had alſo ſome rights.

Almoſt all the potentates in Europe *, even thoſe that were at enmity with each other, ſuſpended their quarrels to unite together at Cambray againſt the republic of Venice. The Turk, her natural enemy, and who at that time was at peace with her, was the only power which did not accede to this treaty. In ſhort, never did ſo many kings confederate themſelves againſt old Rome. Venice indeed was as rich as all theſe powers together; a circumſtance in which ſhe greatly confided, as well as in the diſunion which ſoon broke out amongſt ſo many allies. She had it in her own power to appeaſe the wrath of Julius II. the principal author of the league; but ſhe diſdained to ſue for favour, and had the courage to wait

* 1508.

the

the impending ſtorm. Perhaps this is the only time that ever ſhe behaved with temerity.

The Pope began his declaration of war with excommunications, which are more deſpiſed by the Venetians than by other nations. Lewis XII. ſent an herald at arms to denounce the war to the Doge. He demanded back the territory of Cremona, which he himſelf had reſigned to the Venetians, when they helped him to take the dukedom of Milan: he laid claim alſo to Breſcia, Bergamo, and to other places. Fortune favoured the French on this occaſion with the ſame rapidity of ſucceſs, which had hitherto attended them in the beginning of all their expeditions.

Lewis XII. having put himſelf at the head of his forces, defeated the Venetian army at the famous battle of Agnadel, near the river Adda *. Then each of the pretenders ſeized on his ſhare; and the Pope in particular took poſſeſſion of all Romagna. Thus the popes, who, it is ſaid, were indebted to an emperor of France for their firſt poſſeſſions, owed the remainder to the arms of Lewis XII. They then recovered almoſt the whole extent of territory which they now poſſeſs.

In the mean time the Emperor's troops advanced into the province of Friuli, where they took Trieſte; which has ever ſince continued in poſſeſſion of the houſe of Auſtria. The Spaniſh troops ſeized on what the Venetians held in Calabria. There was not one, even down to the Duke of Ferrara, and to the Marquis of Mantua, formerly a general in the Venetian ſervice, but fell on his prey. Venice, which before had been ſo raſh and intrepid, was now as timid and diſpirited. She abandoned the towns on the continent of her own accord: ſhe releaſed Padua and Verona from their oaths of allegiance; and being now reduced to her lagunes, ſhe implored the mercy of the Emperor Maximilian; but his ſucceſſes rendered him inflexible.

* 1509.

Then

Then it was that Pope Julius II. having fulfilled his firſt deſign of aggrandizing Rome on the ruins of Venice, thought of executing the ſecond; which was to drive the *barbarians* out of Italy.

Lewis XII. was returned to France, where, like Charles VIII. he became as negligent in preſerving, as he had been diligent in making his conqueſts. The Pope was reconciled to the Venetians, who, being now recovered from their firſt panic, made a ſtand againſt the Imperial forces.

At length he entered into a league with this very republic, and againſt thoſe ſame French whom he had employed to diſtreſs her. He wanted to deſtroy all the ſtrangers in Italy, by making them cut one another's throats, to demoliſh the feeble remains of the German authority, and to form of Italy a puiſſant body, of which the Pope was to be the head. In this deſign he ſpared neither negotiations, nor money, nor labour. He headed the troops himſelf; he mounted the trenches; in fine, he dared to encounter death. The French hiſtorians cenſure his ambition and his obſtinacy; but they ſhould alſo have done juſtice to his courage, and to the grandeur of his deſigns.

Lewis XII. was guilty of a freſh miſtake, which forwarded Pope Julius's ſcheme. The former was remarkable for his œconomy, but it was ſuch an œconomy as might be ſtyled a virtue in the ordinary adminiſtration of a peaceful ſtate, but a vice in critical conjunctures.

Through want of a right idea of diſcipline, the whole ſtrength of the French armies was at that time made to conſiſt in the gendarmery, who fought on foot as well as on horſeback. They did not yet underſtand how to form a good body of French infantry, though it was a very eaſy thing, as experience has ſince ſhewn; ſo that the kings of France were

were obliged to hire either German or Swiſs infantry.

The Swiſs are well known to have contributed to the conqueſt of the duchy of Milan: for they had ſold their blood, and even their honour, in delivering up Lewis the Moor. The cantons now demanded an augmentation of their penſion, and Lewis refuſed it. The Pope artfully laid hold of this conjuncture: he cajoled them, and gave them money; he encouraged them by the titles he ſo laviſhly beſtowed on them, of *defenders of the church*; in fine, he cauſed their preachers to declaim from the pulpit againſt the French nation. The people all flocked to theſe military ſermons, which flattered their paſſions: in ſhort, it was preaching a cruſade.

By an odd change of conjunctures, the French were become the allies of the German empire, with which they had ſo often been at enmity: more than this, they were become its vaſſals. Lewis XII. had given for the inveſtiture of Milan 100,000 gold crowns to the Emperor Maximilian, who was neither a powerful ally, nor a faithful friend, and who, as Emperor, liked neither the French nor the Pope.

Ferdinand the Catholic, who had always deceived Lewis XII. deſerted the league of Cambray, having got what he pretended to in Calabria. He received the full and entire inveſtiture of the kingdom of Naples of Pope Julius II. who, by this purchaſe, ſecured him in his intereſt. Thus the Pope, through his great policy, had brought over to his ſide the Venetians, the Swiſs, the forces of the kingdom of Naples, and even thoſe of England; while the French were obliged to withſtand the joint efforts of all thoſe powers.

* Lewis XII. thus attacked by the Pope, ſummoned an aſſembly of biſhops at Tours, to know

* 1510.

whether

whether it was lawful for him to defend himself, and whether the Pope's excommunications were valid. Posterity will be astonished, that such questions were ever started: but there was a necessity for respecting the prejudices of the times. I cannot help taking notice of the first case of conscience proposed in this assembly. The president asked, whether the Pope had a right to make war, when neither religion nor the temporal dominions of the church were concerned? and he was answered in the negative. It is evident to me, that they did not state the question right; and that they answered the very contrary of what they should have answered. For in matters of religion, and ecclesiastic possessions, if we adhere to the gospel, a bishop, so far from going to war, ought only to pray and to be patient: but in matters of politics, a pope can, and surely ought to assist his allies, and to defend Italy. Moreover, the Pope went to war in order to reunite Bologna and Ferrara, whose possessors were under the protection of France, to the patrimony of the church.

This French assembly made a worthier answer, by concluding to abide by the famous pragmatic sanction of Charles VII. to send no more money to Rome, and to tax the clergy of France in order to carry on the war against the Pope, the Roman chief of this French clergy.

They began with fighting in the neighbourhood of Bologna and Ferrara. Julius II. laid siege to Mirandola in person: and though his Holiness was then seventy years old, yet he was seen to mount the trenches with his helmet on, to visit the works, to press the engineers, and at length victoriously to enter the breach.

* While the Pope, worn out with old age, was fighting at the head of his troops, the King of France, still in the vigour of life, assembled a coun-

* 1511.

cil,

cil. He was ſtirring up all the clergy of Chriſtendom, and the Pope all the ſoldiers. The council was appointed to meet at Piſa, where a few cardinals, enemies of the Pope, made their appearance. But this royal council proved in the end an idle undertaking, whereas the Papal war was very ſucceſsful.

In vain ſome medals were ſtruck at Paris, on which Lewis XII. was repreſented with this device, *Perdam Babylonis nomen*; "I will deſtroy even the "name of Babylon." It was a ſhame thus to brag, when there was ſo little power to execute.

The moſt ſignal proofs of courage, and oftentimes even the gaining of victories, ſerve only to raiſe the glory, but not to increaſe the power of a nation, when there is a radical defect in the political government, which inſenſibly leads to its deſtruction. This is what happened to the French in Italy. The brave Chevalier Bayard was admired for his valour and for his generoſity. Gaſton de Foix, at the age of twenty-three, rendered his name immortal, by repulſing the Swiſs army, by rapidly croſſing four rivers, by driving the Pope from Bologna, and by winning the famous battle of Ravenna, where he acquired ſo much glory, but loſt his life. Theſe were all ſignal exploits: but ſtill the King was at too great a diſtance, his orders generally came too late, and were ſometimes contradictory. There was very little emulation among the officers; which was owing to his being ſo ſparing, when he ought to have been laviſh of his money. There was no ſubordination among the troops; beſides, the infantry was compoſed of foreigners, chiefly Germans, who, as mercenaries, had very little attachment to the crown. The French gallantry, and that air of ſuperiority aſſumed by victors, incenſed the humbled and jealous Italians. But the fatal ſtroke was the Emperor Maximilian's being prevailed

ed on by the Pope to iſſue out a proclamation, by which every German ſoldier in the French ſervice was recalled, under pain of being deemed a traitor to his country.

The Swiſs immediately marched down from their mountains againſt thoſe ſame French, who, at the time of the league of Cambray, had all the powers of Europe for their allies, but now had them all for their enemies. Theſe mountaineers made it a point of honour, to bring along with them the ſon of the Duke of Milan, Lewis the Moor, and to expiate their treachery againſt the father by crowning the ſon.

The French, under the command of the Marſhal de Trivulce, ſucceſſively abandoned all the towns they had taken, from the heart of Romagna to the confines of Savoy. The famous Bayard made very fine retreats, ſuch as a hero who is obliged to give way to ſuperior force. There was only three months interval between the victory of Ravenna, and the total expulſion of the French. Lewis XII. had the mortification to ſee the young Maximilian Sforza, ſon of the Duke who died priſoner in France: to ſee him, I ſay, reſtored to the dukedom of Milan by the Swiſs. Genoa, where he had diſplayed the pomp of an Aſiatic monarch, twice expelled the French, and recovered her liberty.

The Swiſs, after having ſerved France for hire, were now become its enemies; and, to the number of 20,000, laid ſiege to Dijon. Even Paris itſelf was ſtruck with terror. Lewis de la Trimouille, governor of Burgundy, could not ſend them home, but by paying them 20,000 crowns in ready money, and, by promiſing them, in the King's name, 400,000 more, for which he was obliged to give them ſeven hoſtages. The King would let them have no more than 100,000 crowns; and even thus their invaſion coſt more money, than he would have

been obliged to pay for their auxiliary forces, which he had through parſimony refuſed. The Swiſs, incenſed at receiving only a fourth part of their money, condemned the ſeven hoſtages to death. The King was then obliged to promiſe not only the whole ſum, but likewiſe one half more. Luckily the hoſtages made their eſcape, and ſaved the King his money, but not his glory.

CHAP. XXIII.

The affairs of Lewis XII. *continued. Of Ferdinand the Catholic, and of Henry* VIII. *King of England.*

THIS famous league, which had been at firſt concerted againſt the republic of Venice, was now, by a ſtrange viciſſitude, directed againſt France, ſo as to prove fatal in the end to Lewis XII. We find, that there were chiefly two princes of greater abilities than himſelf; Ferdinand the Catholic, and the Pope. Lewis made other powers afraid of him a very little while; but ever after, he had reaſon to fear the combined forces of Europe.

While he was loſing Milan and Genoa, together with his treaſures and his troops, they were depriving him alſo of a rampart which defended France againſt Spain. His ally and relation, John d'Albret, was ſuddenly ſtripped of his territories by Ferdinand the Catholic, who defended this outrage by a pretence of religion: for he ſaid, that he had a bull of Pope Julius II. which excommunicated John d'Albret, as an adherent of the King of France, and of the council of Piſa. Navarre has been ever ſince incorporated with the Spaniſh monarchy.

In order the better to underſtand the policy of this Ferdinand the Catholic, famous for conſtantly pretending

pretending to what he was constantly violating, namely, sincerity and religion, we must see how artfully he made this conquest. He proposed to his son-in-law Henry VIII. King of England, to join their forces in order to recover Guienne, the ancient patrimony of the English, who had been expelled from thence above 100 years. The young King of England *, pleased with the project, sends a fleet to Biscay. Ferdinand makes use of the English army to conquer Navarre, and leaves the English to reimbark for their own country, without making any attempt upon Guienne, the invasion of which was impracticable. Thus he deceived his son-in-law, after having tricked his relation the King of Naples, King Lewis XII. the Venetians, and the Pope. In Spain he was called *the Wise*, *the Prudent*; in Italy *the Pious*; in France and in England *the Perfidious*.

Lewis XII. had put Guienne into a good posture of defence; but he was not so lucky in Picardy. Henry VIII. embraced this time of calamity as a good opportunity to make an irruption on this side into France, which was always open to the English by the gates of Calais.

This young King, fired with ambition and with courage, attacked France by himself, without waiting for any succours from the Emperor Maximilian, or from Ferdinand the Catholic, his allies. The old Emperor, always enterprising, and always poor, served in the King of England's army, and was not ashamed to receive a pay of 100 crowns a-day. Henry VIII. with his English troops, alone seemed likely to revive the fatal times of Poictiers and Agincourt. He gained a complete victory at the battle of Guinegaste, which is called *the battle of the spurs*. He took Terouane, which is now destroyed; † and he also made himself master of

* 1512. † 1513.

Tournay, a city time immemorial incorporated with France, and the cradle of the French monarchy.

Lewis XII. had buried his wife Anne of Britany, and now concluded a peace with Henry VIII. by marrying his ſiſter Mary of England: but whereas kings, as well as private perſons, receive a dower with their wives, Lewis paid one. It coſt him 100,000 crowns to marry his conqueror's ſiſter. Thus having been obliged at the ſame time to ſubmit to the extortions of the Engliſh and of the Swiſs, having been always deceived by Ferdinand the Catholic, and having been driven from his Italian conqueſts by the ſteadineſs of Julius II. he ſoon after finiſhed his career *.

As he laid very few taxes, he was called *the father of his people.* But the heroes with whom France at that time abounded, would likewiſe have given him the title of their *father*, if, by raiſing neceſſary taxes, he had preſerved his territories in Italy, given a check to the Swiſs, afforded effectual aſſiſtance to Navarre, and repulſed the Engliſh.

But though he was unfortunate abroad, he was far from being ſo at home. All that he can be reproached with, is the ſale of employments, which, in his reign, did not extend to judicial offices. In a reign of ſeventeen years, he raiſed by this means the ſum of 1,200,000 livres, in the dioceſe of Paris only. But the land-tax, and the duties on merchandiſe, were very moderate. It was always his particular attention, not to lay any heavy burden on the people. He did not think he was King of France, in the ſame manner as a private perſon is lord of his eſtate, merely to draw his ſubſiſtence from it. There was no new impoſt in his time: and when Fromentau preſented to that ſquanderer Henry III. in 1580, a comparative account of what was exacted under this unhappy prince, with what was paid

* 1515.

under

under Lewis XII.; at each article there appeared an immenſe ſum for Henry III. and a very moderate one for Lewis, if it was an old duty; but if it was an extraordinary tax, at the article Lewis XII. there was a cypher only: and unhappily this account of what was not paid under Lewis XII. and of what was exacted by Henry III. contains a large volume.

This King's revenue was only about thirteen millions; but theſe thirteen millions were equivalent to near fifty of our preſent money. Proviſions were at that time much cheaper, and the ſtate was not in debt. It is not therefore to be wondered, that this ſlender revenue, with prudent management, enabled him to live in ſplendor, and to make plenty flouriſh throughout his kingdom. He took care that juſtice ſhould be adminiſtered in every province, expeditiouſly, impartially, and with as little expence as poſſible. The judges fees were forty times leſs than what they are at preſent. In the bailiwick of Paris, there were only 49 ſerjeants, and now there are above 500. It is true, that Paris was not then the fifth part of what it is in our days. But the number of officers of juſtice has increaſed in a much greater proportion than the city of Paris; and the evils inſeparable from great towns, have been augmented more than the number of inhabitants.

Lewis XII. was the firſt King of France that ſecured the huſbandman againſt the rapaciouſneſs of the ſoldiers, and that inflicted capital puniſhments on the gendarmes who extorted any thing from the peaſants. Five gendarmes were put to death, and the country-people were ever afterwards unmoleſted. If he was neither a great hero, nor a great politician, he had acquired far more ſolid glory, that of being a good king; and his memory will be always precious to poſterity.

CHAP. XXIV.

Of England, and its misfortunes after invading France. Of Margaret of Anjou, wife of Henry VI. &c.

IN the midſt of the ſeveral diſſenſions with which Italy was continually rent, Pope Julius II. reſolute in his deſign of clearing his country of foreigners, increaſed the temporal power of the Papal ſee, far beyond any thing his predeceſſors had ever enjoyed. He had diſmembered Parma and Placentia from the dukedom of Milan; and having joined them to the eccleſiaſtic ſtate, by the conſent of the Emperor himſelf, with this memorable action he concluded his pontificate and his life *.

Venice, though at war with Ferdinand the Catholic, King of Naples, was ſtill a powerful ſtate, being able to withſtand at the ſame time the attacks both of the Mahometans and of the Chriſtians. Germany was at peace. England began again to be formidable. But we muſt inquire into the cauſes that weakened this kingdom, and the means by which it recovered its ſtrength.

The diſtempered brain of Charles VI. had been the ruin of France; and the weak head of Henry VI. was the cauſe of the calamities of England.

The relations of this prince began with quarrelling about the adminiſtration in his youth †; juſt as the relations of Charles VI. flung every thing into confuſion, that they might command in his name. At Paris, a Duke of Burgundy cauſes a Duke of Orleans to be aſſaſſinated; and at London, the Ducheſs of Glouceſter, the King's aunt, is accuſed of having attempted to take away her nephew's life

* 1513. † 1442.

by

by witchcraft. A wretched fortune-teller, and a fooliſh or knaviſh prieſt, who called themſelves *conjurers*, were burnt alive for this pretended conſpiracy. The Ducheſs was ſentenced to make an *honorable amande* in her ſhift, and to perpetual impriſonment. The ſpirit of philoſophy was yet at ſuch a diſtance from this iſland, that it was the centre of ſuperſtition and cruelty.

Moſt of the quarrels of princes end in marriages. Charles VII. made a match between Henry VI. and Margaret of Anjou *, daughter of Reyner of Anjou, King of Naples, Duke of Lorrain, and Count of Maine; who, with all theſe titles, had no dominions, nor ſo much as a ſmall dower to give his daughter. Very few princeſſes were ever more unfortunate in a father and in a huſband. She was a woman of an enterpriſing ſpirit, and of unſhaken courage; to a degree that ſhe might juſtly be ſtyled an heroine, if ſhe had not begun by ſullying her virtues with a crime. She had every political ability, and every military virtue. But ſhe ſometimes gave into thoſe cruelties, which ambition, war, and factions inſpire. Her temerity, and the puſillanimity of her huſband, were the original ſource of the public calamities.

She wanted to govern; which ſhe could not do, without getting rid of the Duke of Glouceſter, the King's uncle †, and huſband of that very Ducheſs who had been already ſacrificed to her enemies, and was now confined in priſon. The Duke was arreſted, under pretence of a new conſpiracy, and the next day he was found dead in his bed. This outrageous proceeding rendered the Queen's adminiſtration, and the King's name, odious. The Engliſh ſeldom hate their princes, without conſpiring againſt them. There was at that time in England a deſcendent of Edward III. whoſe branch was one

* 1444. † 1457.

degree

degree nearer to the common ſtock than that which ſat upon the throne. This was the Duke of York. He wore in his arms a white roſe, and Henry VI. of the branch of Lancaſter, wore a red roſe. This is the original of thoſe famous names, conſecrated to civil war.

In the beginning of factions in England, they muſt be protected by a parliament, till this parliament becomes the ſlave of the conqueror. The Duke of York, in parliament, impeaches the Duke of Suffolk *, prime miniſter and favourite of the Queen, who, by theſe two titles, had done enough to incur the hatred of the nation. We have here a ſtrange example of the effect of popular averſion. The court, to content the people, baniſhes the prime miniſter out of England; who, in conſequence of this ſentence, imbarks for France. The captain of a man of war ſtationed on the coaſt, falls in with the ſhip in which this miniſter ſailed, and aſks, who is on board? The maſter anſwers, that he is carrying the Duke of Suffolk to France. "You ſhall not carry a man abroad," ſays the captain, "that has been a traitor to his country;" and immediately he orders his head to be ſtruck off. Thus the Engliſh behaved in full peace: but the civil war ſoon opened a more dreadful ſcene.

Henry VI. was ſubject to a kind of weakneſs, which, for years together, rendered him unfit for all buſineſs. This ſame century beheld three ſovereigns in Europe, whom the derangement of the organs of the brain involved in the heavieſt calamities, the Emperor Wenceſlaus, Charles VI. King of France, and Henry VI. of England. One of thoſe unfortunate years †, when the King was greatly diſordered, the Duke of York and his party gained a ſuperiority in the council. The King, like a perſon recovered from a long lethargy, o-

* 1450. † 1455.

pened

pened his eyes, and perceived he had loſt his authority. Queen Margaret adviſed him to ſhew himſelf a king: but this he could not do without drawing the ſword. The Duke of York having been expelled the council, ſoon put himſelf at the head of an army. Henry was dragged to the battle of St Alban's, where he was wounded and taken priſoner. The Duke of York conducted him in triumph to London; yet he was not dethroned, but ſuffered ſtill to bear the title of *King* *; as for the Duke, he aſſumed to himſelf that of *Protector*, a title already known to the Engliſh.

Henry VI. often infirm in body, and always in mind, was little better than a priſoner attended with the pageantry of a king. The Queen wanted to break his fetters, in order to be at liberty herſelf. And indeed her courage exceeded her misfortunes. She raiſed an army, according to the cuſtom of levying troops in thoſe days, by the aſſiſtance of the lords of her party; and having perſuaded her huſband to retire out of London, ſhe became the general of his army. Thus the Engliſh, in a very ſhort ſpace of time, ſaw four Frenchwomen who had the conducting of troops, the wife of the Count of Montfort in Britany, the wife of King Edward II. in England, the maid of Orleans in France, and this Margaret of Anjou.

† The Queen drew up the army herſelf in battalia, and fought cloſe to her huſband at the bloody battle of Northampton. The Duke of York, her inveterate enemy, was not in the oppoſite army; but his eldeſt ſon, the Earl of March, was there learning the rudiments of the civil war under a perſon of the greateſt renown. This was Guy, Earl of Warwick, a man of ſingular artifice for conducting affairs in thoſe troubleſome days, and, at the ſame time, of the moſt undaunted courage in the

* 1455. † 1460.

field;

field; a man, in short, fruitful in expedients, capable of attempting every thing, and formed, as it were, to dispose of crowns. The Earl of Warwick's good genius prevailed over Margaret of Anjou; so that her army was defeated. This princess had the mortification to see the King her husband made prisoner in his tent; and while the unhappy prince was stretching out his arms to his wife, she was obliged precipitately to fly away with her son the Prince of Wales. The victorious party reconducted the King the second time to his capital, where he preserved the appearance of a king, with the reality of a prisoner.

A parliament was summoned; and now the Duke of York, heretofore Protector, demanded another title. He claimed the crown, as the representative of Edward III. to the exclusion of Henry VI. born of a younger branch. This great question between the King and the pretender to the crown, was solemnly argued in the house of Lords. Each side gave in his reasons in writing, as at common trials. The Duke of York, notwithstanding his success in the field, could not obtain a complete victory in parliament. Here it was decided, that King Henry should continue to reign for life, and that the Duke of York should succeed him, to the exclusion of the Prince of Wales. To this bill a clause was added, which became a fresh source of war and disturbance, that if the King broke thro' this law, the crown from that moment should be forfeited to the Duke of York.

Margaret of Anjou, notwithstanding her defeat, her precipitate flight, her distance from her husband, and her having to contend with the victorious Duke of York, with London, and with the parliament, still did not lose courage. She ran about the principality of Wales, and the neighbouring counties, till, by soliciting her old friends, and raising new ones,

ones, she formed at last another army. It is obvious, that these were not regular troops, long trained to discipline, and paid by one commander. Each lord brought as many men into the field as he could tumultuously collect; and as to ammunition and pay, they procured that by pillage. The consequence of this was, that they were obliged to come quickly to an engagement, or to disperse. The Queen at length having drawn together a body of 18,000 men *, came up with her enemy the Duke of York, in the province of the same name, at Wakefield. Fortune that day favoured her courage. The enemy's army was defeated; the Duke of York fell in the engagement; and his second son, Rutland, was killed in the pursuit. The father's head, with those of some of the general officers, was fixed upon the wall, where they long remained a monument of their defeat.

Margaret, now victorious, marches up to London, in order to set the King her husband at liberty. The Earl of Warwick, the soul of the York party, had still an army, in which he dragged about the captive King. The two armies met in the neighbourhood of St Alban's, a place famous for more battles than one; and the Queen had also the good fortune of obtaining the victory †. Here she had the singular pleasure of seeing the terrible Earl of Warwick flying before her, and of restoring her husband on the field of battle to his liberty and to his authority. Never had woman greater success, nor greater glory; but the triumph was very short. The city of London still held out; for Warwick had taken care to secure it in his interest. The Queen therefore could neither gain admittance, nor pretend to force the city with so weak an army. The Earl of March, the Duke of York's eldest son, was in the town, breathing fury and re-

* 1460. † 1461.

venge.

venge. The Queen, after her victories, was obliged to retire to the north of England, where she endeavoured to strengthen her party, which was become now more considerable by the royal presence.

* In the mean time, Warwick finding himself master in London, assembles the people in a field not far from the city-gates, and presenting the Duke of York's son to them, *Which*, says he, *will you have for your king; either this young prince, or Henry of Lancaster?* The people answered, *York*. The voice of the multitude supplied the place of a parliament, for there was none sitting at that time. Warwick assembled a few lords and bishops, who voted, that Henry VI. of Lancaster had broke through the act of parliament, because his wife had taken up arms in defence of her husband. The young Duke of York was therefore proclaimed King in London, by the name of *Edward* IV. while his father's head was still upon York walls, for having been guilty of high treason. Thus was Henry VI. deprived of his crown, after he had been proclaimed King of France and of England in his cradle, and after he had reigned eight and thirty years, free from every reproach but that of weakness.

As soon as the Queen received this news, she assembled an army of 60,000 men in the north of England. This was a prodigious effort; but she ventured this time neither her husband's person, nor her own, nor that of her son. Warwick led his young king, at the head of 40,000 men, against the Queen's army; and came up with them at Towton, near the banks of the river Aire, on the borders of Yorkshire †. Here was fought the bloodiest battle that ever depopulated England; for cotemporary writers make the number of the slain

* 1461. † 1461.

to

to amount to 36,000 men. Warwick gained a complete victory, by which the young king was settled on the throne. Margaret of Anjou, in this distressed situation, fled into Scotland, with her husband and her son. After the battle, King Edward ordered his father's head to be taken down from the walls of York, and the heads of the principal officers among the enemy to be put in its stead. In the course of these horrid wars, each party in their turn put their prisoners to death by the hands of the common executioner. England was thus a theatre of bloodshed, where they were continually erecting scaffolds on the very field of battle.

CHAP. XXV.

Of Edward IV. *Of Margaret of Anjou, and the death of Henry* VI.

THE intrepidity of Margaret still continued superior to her misfortunes. Finding but very little encouragement in Scotland, she crosses over into France through the midst of the enemy's fleet. She applies for succours to Lewis XI. who was then in the beginning of his reign: and though, through bad policy, he refuses her, yet she is not disheartened. She borrows money and ships; and after having obtained a supply of 500 men, she sets sail, but in her passage is separated by a storm from her little fleet. At length she lands in England, where she assembles some forces; and determining again to try the fortune of war, fearless she exposes her own person, in company with her husband and her son *. Another battle is fought in the neighbourhood of Hexham, where she is likewise defeated. After this overthrow, she is left

* 1462.

deſtitute of all relief. Her huſband flies on one ſide, herſelf and her ſon on the other, without domeſtics or attendants, and expoſed to all the accidents and injuries of life. In the purſuit, Henry fell into the enemy's hands; who brought him back with ignominy to London, where they confined him to the tower. Margaret had the good fortune to eſcape with her ſon into France, to her father Reyner of Anjou, who could afford her nothing but compaſſion.

The young King Edward IV. having been thus crowned by the hands of Warwick, by him delivered of all his enemies, and by him made maſter of Henry's perſon, was in peaceable poſſeſſion of the throne. But as ſoon as he was at his eaſe, he grew ungrateful. The Earl of Warwick, who had been a father to him, was negotiating with France a match between this prince and Bonne of Savoy, ſiſter to Lewis XI.'s queen. When the marriage was juſt upon the point of being concluded, Edward happening to ſee Eliſabeth, widow of Sir John Gray, falls in love with her *, then marries her in private, and at length declares her his Queen, without acquainting Warwick. After giving him this offence, he ſlights him, removes him from his council, and makes him his irreconcileable enemy. Warwick's cunning was equal to his courage, and he ſoon exerted both in revenging himſelf of Edward. He ſeduced the Duke of Clarence, the King's brother; he ſet England again in flames; and it was no longer the *red roſe* againſt the *white*, but a civil war betwixt the King and his provoked ſubject. Battles, truces, negotiations, treaſons, ſucceeded each other with the greateſt rapidity. At length Warwick having driven the perſon whom he had made king out of England, went to the tower to releaſe that very King Henry VI. whom

* 1465.

he

he had depoſed, and placed him again upon the throne *. This Earl was called the *King-maker*. The parliaments were little more than the echoes of the will of the ſtrongeſt. Warwick cauſed one to be called; which immediately reſtored Henry to all his rights, and declared that ſame Edward IV. on whom they had a few years before conferred the crown, a traitor and uſurper. We are not yet come to the cataſtrophe of this long and bloody tragedy. Edward IV. had taken ſhelter in Holland, but had ſtill a powerful party in England, whither he returned after ſeven months baniſhment. His partiſans opened the gates of London to him; and Henry, the ſport of fortune, juſt after his reſtoration, was ſent again to the tower. His wife, Margaret of Anjou, ever ready to ſuccour him, and ever fruitful in expedients, was at that very time upon her return to England, with her ſon the Prince of Wales, and at her landing received the news of this freſh diſaſter. Warwick, who had been ſo long her perſecutor, was now become her defender, and marched againſt Edward. Thus there were ſtill ſome hopes left for this unfortunate queen: but ſcarce had ſhe heard of her huſband's freſh impriſonment, when a ſecond courier comes to acquaint her, as ſhe was yet upon the coaſt †, that Edward had gained a complete victory over the Earl of Warwick, who was ſlain in the engagement.

It is amazing, that, after ſuch a multitude of diſaſters, a woman ſhould ſtill have ventured to try her fortune. But her undaunted courage always procured her friends. Whoſoever had a party in England, was ſure, at the expiration of ſome time, of finding his partiſans ſtrengthened by the averſion of the people againſt the court and the miniſtry. This, in ſome meaſure, was as good as an army to Margaret of Anjou, after ſuch a number of revo-

* 1470. † 1471.

lutions and defeats. There was ſcarce a county in England where ſhe had not fought; but the banks of the Severn and Tewkſbury park was the laſt field of battle. She commanded the troops in perſon, and led the Prince of Wales through the ranks: the battle was obſtinate *, but at length victory declared in favour of Edward. The Queen miſſing her ſon in the confuſion of the purſuit, and being able to get no tidings of him, fainted away. In this condition ſhe lay a long time on a car, and, upon coming to herſelf, ſaw her ſon taken priſoner, and her conqueror Edward before her. The mother and the ſon were parted: ſhe was conducted to London, and ſent to the very tower where the King her huſband was confined. While the mother was diſpoſed of in this manner, Edward turning himſelf to the Prince of Wales, *How came you to be ſo daring*, ſaid he, *as to put foot into my dominions? I am come into my father's territories*, replied the Prince, *to revenge his cauſe, and to reſcue my inheritance out of your hands.* Edward was ſo provoked at this reply, that he ſtruck him with his gauntlet: and it is mentioned by the hiſtorians of that time, that King Edward's own brother, the Duke of Clarence, then reſtored to favour, and the Duke of Glouceſter, together with ſome lords, fell like ſo many wild beaſts on the Prince of Wales, and inhumanly butchered him. When the firſt perſons of the realm could commit ſuch barbarities, what notion muſt we form of the common people? They did not ſpare the life of any one priſoner; and now they reſolved to put Henry VI. to death. The reſpect which, in thoſe ferocious times, they had entertained for above forty years for the perſonal virtues of this monarch, had hitherto reſtrained the hands of thoſe aſſaſſins; but after they had thus murdered the Prince of

* 1471.

Wales,

Wales, they began to have leſs regard for the King. That very Duke of Glouceſter who had imbrued his hands in the blood of the ſon *, went himſelf to the tower to murder the father. They ſpared Margaret of Anjou's life, becauſe they expected the French would ranſom her. And ſo it fell out four years afterwards, when Edward, having eſtabliſhed peace at home, went over to Calais to declare war againſt France. Lewis XI. concluded a ſhameful treaty, by which he prevailed upon him, for a ſum of money, to return to England; and, by the ſame agreement, he gave him 50,000 crowns for the heroine's ranſom. This was a great ſum to the Engliſh, who were impoveriſhed by the wars of France, and by their own domeſtic diſſenſions. Margaret, after having defended the rights of her huſband and of her ſon in twelve battles, died in 1482, the moſt unfortunate, and, were it not for the murder of her huſband's uncle, the moſt venerable queen, wife, and mother, in Europe.

CHAP. XXVI.

Continuation of the troubles of England under Edward IV. *under the tyrant Richard* III. *and till the end of the reign of Henry* VII.

EDWARD IV. was now peaceably ſeated on the throne: the triumph of the white roſe was complete, and its power cemented by the blood of almoſt all the princes of the red roſe. Upon conſidering the conduct of Edward IV. there is no body but would imagine him to have been a barbarous prince, whoſe thoughts were entirely taken up with glutting his revenge; and yet he was a man of pleaſure, as much intangled in the intrigues of women

* 1471.

as in thoſe of ſtate. He did not want the regal dignity to render himſelf agreeable. Nature had formed him the handſomeſt, as well as the moſt amorous man of his time; and yet, by a ſurpriſing contraſt, had infuſed into his breaſt ſuch a propenſity to cruelty as fills us with horror. He ordered his brother Clarence to be tried for his life on the moſt frivolous pretences; and the only grace he ſhewed him was, the permitting him to chuſe his kind of death *. Clarence deſired to be drowned in a butt of wine; a very odd and unaccountable fancy.

The ſecret of pleaſing his ſubjects was, to make war againſt France. We have already ſeen, under the article of Lewis XI. how Edward IV. croſſed the ſea in 1474, and by how ſhameful a policy Lewis XI. gave a ſum of money to this King, at that time leſs powerful and leſs ſettled on the throne than himſelf, to perſuade him to return to England. To purchaſe peace of an enemy, is enabling him to wage war. Edward therefore propoſed to his parliament, in 1483, to invade France again. Never was there a propoſal accepted of with more general joy. But juſt as he was preparing for this expedition, he died, at the age of forty-two †.

As he was of a very robuſt conſtitution, his brother, Richard Duke of Glouceſter, was ſuſpected of having haſtened his days by poiſon. This was not judging raſhly of the Duke of Glouceſter, a monſter, born to perpetrate even the moſt horrid crimes in cool blood.

Edward IV. left two ſons behind him, the eldeſt of whom, named *Edward* V. was at that time thirteen years of age. Glouceſter formed the deſign of taking theſe two children out of the hands of the Queen their mother, and of cauſing them to be

* 1477. † 1483.

murdered,

murdered, in order to make way for himself to the throne. He employed every kind of dissimulation and artifice to get the children into his power; which as soon as he had effected, he ordered them to be sent to the tower, as he pretended, for their greater safety. But when this double assassination was to be put in execution, he met with an obstacle in his way. His emissaries having sounded Lord Hastings, a man of a sour disposition, found him too much attached to the young king, ever to be any way accessory to his death. Gloucester perceiving such a secret in such dangerous hands, did not hesitate a moment about what he had to do. The council of state was met in the tower, and Hastings was at the board. The Duke enters with his myrmidons, and going up to Lord Hastings, *I arrest you*, says he, *for the crimes you have committed. What! me, my Lord?* answered the accused. *Yes, thee, traitor*, says the Duke of Gloucester; and at that very instant, he ordered his head to be cut off in the presence of the council *.

Having thus got rid of a person who knew his secret, and despising those forms of law by which the most flagitious crimes were justified in England, he hires an infamous set of wretches, of the very scum of the people, who assemble in Guildhall, and tumultuously declare that they will have Richard Duke of Gloucester for their king. The next day, the Lord Mayor of London, followed by this rabble, goes and offers him the crown: he accepts of it; and is crowned without calling a parliament, or without the least pretext for this irregular proceeding. He only caused it to be rumoured, that King Edward, his brother, was born in adultery, shewing thus that he was not ashamed to dishonour his mother. And indeed it was very improbable that Edward IV. and the Duke of Gloucester should have

* 1483.

been

been born of the ſame father. The firſt was a perſon of extraordinary beauty; the ſecond was diſtorted in every part of his body, while the deformity of his countenance was as hideous as the iniquity of his mind.

He founded thus his right entirely on his mother's ſhame; pretending that he alone was legitimate, and his nephews the ſons of a baſtard. * Scarce was he crowned, when one Tyrrel ſtrangled the young king and his brother in the tower. The nation were appriſed of this horrid murder, and only murmured in private, ſo greatly were they changed with the times. The Duke of Glouceſter, under the title of *Richard* III. enjoyed two years and an half the fruit of the greateſt of all crimes that England had yet beheld, notwithſtanding it had been ſo much accuſtomed to ſcenes of horror and iniquity.

During this ſhort enjoyment of the crown, he ſummoned a parliament, in which he ventured to have his right examined. There are particular times in which the people are cowardly, in proportion to the cruelty of their maſters. This parliament declared, that the mother of Richard III. had been guilty of adultery: that neither the late King Edward, nor his other brothers, were lawful iſſue: that the only legitimate ſon was Richard; and conſequently that the crown was his right, excluſively of the two young princes murdered in the tower, but concerning whoſe death they made not the leaſt mention. The parliaments of England have ſometimes committed more cruelties, but never were guilty of ſo infamous an action. Entire ages of virtue could ſcarce wipe off the ſtain of ſo baſe a condeſcenſion.

At length, at the end of two years and an half, an avenger of ſuch horrid crimes ventured to make

* 1483.

his

his appearance. After the murder of so many princes of the blood-royal, there was still left a single sprig of the red rose, concealed in Britany, whose name was *Henry* Earl of Richmond. He was not a descendent of Henry VI. but, like him, he derived his original from John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, son of the great Edward III.; yet as this descent was by the female line, and by a very ambiguous marriage of this very John of Gaunt, Richmond's right to the crown would have been extremely precarious, if it had not been strengthened by the horror which the nation had conceived against the crimes of Richard III. Henry was as yet very young, when he first formed the design of revenging the blood of so many princes of the house of Lancaster, of punishing Richard III. and of conquering England. His first attempt was unsuccessful; and after his party had been defeated, he was obliged to return for shelter to Britany. Richard entered into a private negotiation with the minister of Francis II. Duke of Britany, father of Anne of Britany, who married Charles VIII. and afterwards Lewis XII. The Duke himself was not capable of so base an action; but his minister Landois was: and, in fact, he promised to deliver up the Earl of Richmond to the tyrant. The young prince fled in a disguise from Britany to the territory of Anjou, where he arrived but just an hour before the officers that were in pursuit of him.

It was the interest of Charles VIII. at that time King of France, to protect the Earl of Richmond. The great-grandson of Charles VII. would have been greatly deficient in his politics, if, having it in his power to prejudice the English, he had omitted an opportunity of doing it. And yet Charles lent him no more than 2000 men. This was indeed enough, supposing Richmond's party considerable: but it soon increased; and Richard himself, when he heard

heard that his rival had landed with so small a force, judged that he would soon find an army. The whole principality of Wales, where this young prince was born, armed in his favour. At length, Richard and Richmond came to an engagement at Bosworth, in the neighbourhood of Leicester. Richard wore the crown on his head, intending thereby to remind the soldiers that they were fighting for their king against a rebel. But Lord Stanley, one of his generals, who had long with horror beheld a crown usurped by such a number of assassinations, betrayed his unworthy master, and went over with the body of troops under his command to the Earl of Richmond. Richard had courage, which was his only virtue. When he saw the battle grown desperate, he furiously rushed into the midst of his enemies, and there received a more glorious death than he deserved. His body was found among the slain, and was carried all naked and bloody to the town of Leicester on horseback, his head hanging on one side, and his feet on the other. There he was two days exposed to the view of the populace, who, reflecting on his horrid crimes, had no sort of pity for him. Stanley took the crown off his head, after he had been killed, and carried it to Henry.

The victors sang *Te Deum* on the field of battle; and after this prayer, the whole army, with one common voice, cried out, *Long live King Henry.* This day put an end to the distractions with which the white and red roses had ravaged England. The throne, after such a number of bloody revolutions, was settled at length on a solid basis. The misfortunes which had so long persecuted the family of Edward III. were now at an end; for Henry VII. by marrying a daughter of Edward IV. reunited the rights of the houses of York and Lancaster in his own person. He understood how to govern, as well

well as to conquer. His reign, which lasted four and twenty years, with very little disturbance, softened, in some measure, the manners of the nation. The parliaments which he called and directed, made very prudent laws; the administration of justice was perfectly restored; and commerce, which began to flourish under the great Edward III. and had been ruined during the civil wars, was seen once more to raise its head. England indeed wanted it. We have an instance of its poverty, in the extreme difficulty which Henry VII. had to raise, by way of loan, 2000 l. Sterling upon the city of London. His inclination, joined to his necessities, rendered him covetous. If he had only been an œconomist, he would have been considered as a wise prince; but by a sordid parsimony, and by fiscal acquisitions, he stained his glory. He kept a private register of what the confiscations were worth to him; a meanness to which no great princes ever descended. At his decease, they found in his coffers two millions Sterling: An immense sum! which it would have been of far greater use to have circulated among the public, than to let it lie dead in the treasury. But in a country where the people were more inclined to raise disturbances than to grant money to their sovereigns, there was a necessity for the King's having a hoard.

His reign was a little disturbed by two surprising adventures. A journeyman-baker, who pretended to be nephew to Edward IV. disputed the crown with him. Having been taught by a priest to play his part, he was crowned at Dublin *; and going over to England, ventured to give battle to the King in the neighbourhood of Nottingham. He was taken prisoner; but Henry thought he should sufficiently humble the faction, by placing their king in his kitchen, where he served a long time as a scullion.

* 1487.

Enterprises

Enterprises of an arduous nature, though unsuccessful, oftentimes excite a spirit of imitation: people are encouraged by a striking example, and hope for better success. Witness the three false Demetrius's, successively seen in Muscovy, and witness so many other impostors. The journeyman-baker was followed by the son of a Jew, broker at Antwerp, who acted a better part.

This young Jew, whose name was *Perkin*, pretended to be the son of Edward IV. The King of France, desirous of fomenting the seeds of division in England, acknowledged and encouraged him in the beginning, and even entertained him at his court; but afterwards, chusing to keep fair with Henry VII. he abandoned this impostor to his fate.

* The old Duchess-dowager of Burgundy, sister of Edward IV. and widow of Charles the Bold, who set this spring a-going, acknowledged the young Jew as her nephew. He carried the farce on much longer than the young journeyman-baker. His majestic shape, his air, his valour, seemed to render him worthy of the rank he usurped. He married a princess of the house of York, who loved him even after the imposture was discovered. He kept the King's forces at bay five years; he even put Scotland into motion †, and knew how to retrieve his losses. At length he was abandoned, and delivered up to the King, who only condemned him to imprisonment; but upon attempting to make his escape, his head paid for his temerity. Then it was that the spirit of faction subsided, and that the English, no longer troublesome to their King, began to be formidable to their neighbours; especially when Henry VIII. ascending the throne, was, by the extreme œconomy of his father, become possessor of an ample treasure, and, by the prudence of that government, had established his authority over a na-

* 1493. † 1498.

tion,

tion, who, though of a warlike disposition, were yet as submissive to him as it is possible for Englishmen.

CHAP. XXVII.

General idea of the sixteenth century.

THE beginning of the sixteenth century, which we have already entered upon, exhibits the noblest objects to our view that the theatre of the world ever afforded. If we cast an eye towards those who at that time reigned in Europe, their glory, or their conduct, or the great revolutions of which they were the causes, immortalize their names. At Constantinople, it is a Selim who conquers Syria and Egypt; of which kingdoms the Mahometan Mamalukes had been in possession since the thirteenth century. After him it is his son, the great Solyman, who, the first of the Turkish emperors, marches up to Vienna; who is crowned King of Persia at Bagdat, which submits to his arms; and who makes Europe and Asia tremble.

In the North, at the same time, we behold Gustavus Vasa shaking off a foreign yoke in Sweden, and chosen king of the country whose freedom he asserted.

In Muscovy, John Basilowitz rescues his country from the Tartars, to whom it was tributary. It is true, this prince was a barbarian, and the chief of a nation of barbarians, yet the deliverer of his country deserves a rank among the great princes.

In Spain, in Germany, and in Italy, we see Charles V. the sovereign of all those countries under different titles; we see him bearing the burden of Europe, constantly fighting or negotiating; successful a long time in politics and in war; the only

powerful Emperor ſince Charlemain, and the firſt King of all Spain ſince the conqueſt of the Moors; ſtemming the torrent of the Ottoman arms; making kings; and at length laying down the crowns with which his head was loaded, to go and end his days in retirement, after having ſo long diſturbed all Europe.

His rival in glory and politics, Francis I. King of France, leſs potent, and leſs fortunate, but more brave, and more amiable, divides between Charles V. and himſelf the affection and eſteem of nations. Though conquered, he is crowned with glory, and renders his kingdom flouriſhing notwithſtanding his misfortunes; he tranſplants the polite arts into France, which in Italy were arrived at their higheſt degree of perfection.

Henry VIII. King of England, a prince too cruel, and too capricious, to be ranked among the heroes, has yet his place among theſe kings, both becauſe of the revolution which he made in the minds of the people, and of the balance which England learned under him to hold among the powers of Europe. He took for his device a warrior ſtretching a bow, with theſe words, *Whom I defend, is maſter;* a device which has been ſometimes verified by his nation.

The name of Pope Leo X. is illuſtrious, for his wit, for his amiable behaviour, for the great men in the polite arts who immortalize his age, and for the famous revolution which in his pontificate divided the church.

At the beginning of this ſame century, religion, and the pretence of purifying the eſtabliſhed law, thoſe two great inſtruments of ambition, produce the ſame effect on the coaſt of Africa as in Germany, among the Mahometans as among Chriſtians. A new government, and a new race of kings, are eſtabliſhed in the vaſt empire of Morocco and Fez, which

which extends as far as the deserts of Nigritia. Thus Asia, Africa, and Europe, experience at the same time a revolution in religions. The Persians separate themselves for ever from the Turks; and though acknowledging the same God, and the same prophet, they consummate the schism of Omar and Ali. Immediately after this the Christians are divided also among themselves, and the Roman pontiff is divested of his jurisdiction over one half of Europe.

The ancient world receives a violent shock, while the new world is discovered and conquered for Charles V. At the same time a communication of trade is opened between the East Indies and Europe by the ships and arms of the Portuguese.

On the one side, Cortez subdues the powerful empire of Mexico, while the Pizarro's make the conquest of Peru with a smaller number of troops than is now required to lay siege to a little town. On the other side, Albuquerque in the East Indies establishes the dominion and trade of Portugal with almost as small a number of forces as the Spaniards, notwithstanding the opposition of the Indian kings, and in spite of the efforts of the Mahometans who were in possession of that trade.

Nature at that time produced very extraordinary men in almost every kind, especially in Italy.

But what is still more surprising in this illustrious age, is, that, notwithstanding the wars excited by ambition, and notwithstanding the religious quarrels which began to imbroil the states of Europe, that same genius which made the polite arts flourish at Rome, at Naples, at Florence, at Venice, at Ferrara, and from thence communicated its discoveries to the rest of Europe; that same genius, I say, immediately softened the manners of mankind in almost every part of Christendom. This change was in part owing to the gallantry of the court of Francis I.

Between this prince and Charles V. there was an emulation of glory, of the ſpirit of chivalry, and of politeneſs, even in the midſt of their moſt furious diſſenſions; and this emulation having been communicated to the courtiers, adorned that age with an air of grandeur and politeneſs, till then unknown to Europe.

The opulence of the age contributed likewiſe to this change; and this opulence becoming more general, was, by a ſtrange revolution, in part, the conſequence of the fatal loſs of Conſtantinople: for not long after, the whole commerce of the Ottoman empire was carried on by Chriſtians, who ſold even the ſpices of the Indies to the Turks, loading their ſhips with this commodity at Alexandria, and afterwards tranſporting it to the ports of the Levant.

Induſtry was every where excited. Marſeilles carried on a prodigious trade, and Lyons had excellent manufactures. The towns of the Low Countries were become more flouriſhing than when ſubject to the houſe of Burgundy. The introducing of the ladies to the court of Francis I. made it the centre of magnificence as well as of politeneſs. The manners of the people were more auſtere at London, where a capricious and ferocious prince ſat on the throne; but London at that time was beginning to feel the ſweets of commerce.

In Germany the cities of Augſburg and Nurenberg were become the mart of the riches of Aſia, which they drew from Venice; ſo that they ſoon grew ſenſible of the effects of their correſpondence with the Italians. In Augſburg they had ſeveral houſes, whoſe walls were adorned with paintings *in freſco* after the Venetian taſte. In a word, Europe began to ſee ſome halcyon days, when they were ſoon troubled by the ſtorms which the emulation between Charles V. and Francis I. unfortunately raiſed:

ſed: but above all, the religious quarrels, which then began to rear their heads, tarniſhed the end of this century to ſuch a degree, that they rendered it frightful, and infected it with a kind of barbarouſneſs, unknown even to the Huns and the Heruli.

CHAP. XXVIII.

The ſtate of Europe at the time of Charles V.

Of Muſcovy or Ruſſia.

BEFORE we take a view of the ſtate of Europe under Charles V. I muſt give ſome account of the governments into which it was divided. We have already beheld the ſituation of Spain, France, Germany, Italy, and England. We ſhall make no mention of Turky, nor of its conqueſts in Syria and Africa, till we have related the moſt memorable events that happened among the Chriſtians, when following the Portugueſe in their voyages, and in their military commerce in Aſia, we ſhall examine into the ſtate of the eaſtern world.

We ſhall begin therefore at preſent with the Chriſtian kingdoms of the North. The ſtate of Muſcovy or Ruſſia had taken ſome form. This potent empire, which is becoming more ſo every day, had been for a long time only a collectitious multitude of half Chriſtian ſavages, ſlaves of the Tartars of Caſan, who were the deſcendents of Tamerlane. The Duke of Ruſſia paid a yearly tribute in money, furs, and cattle, to thoſe Tartars. The cuſtom was for him to bring the tribute on foot to the Tartar ambaſſador, to proſtrate himſelf before him, to preſent him with milk to drink, and if any of it fell on the neck of the ambaſſador's horſe, to lick it up. The Muſcovites were on the one ſide ſlaves of the

Tartars, and on the other, cloſe preſſed by the Lithuanians; and towards the Ukraine they were likewiſe expoſed to the depredations of the Crim Tartars, ſucceſſors of the Scythians inhabiting the Taurica Cherſoneſus, to whom likewiſe they paid tribute. At length ſtood up a chief, named *John Baſilides*, or *ſon of Baſil*, a man of courage, who animated the Ruſſians, reſcued them from ſo heavy a bondage, and increaſed his territories by the acceſſion of Novogrod, and of the city of Moſcow, which he conquered upon the Lithuanians at the end of the fifteenth century. He extended his conqueſts into Finland, which has often been the bone of contention between Ruſſia and Sweden.

Ruſſia was therefore a great monarchy at that time, but not as yet formidable to Europe. It is ſaid, that John Baſilides brought back from Moſcow three hundred cart-loads of gold, ſilver, and precious ſtones. But the hiſtory of thoſe rude times is crouded with fables.

At that time the people of Moſcow had no money, no more than the Tartars, but what they acquired by plunder: now, as they had been long expoſed to the depredations of thoſe Tartars, what riches could they poſſibly have? In truth, they had little more than the neceſſaries of life. The country about Moſcow produces good corn, which they ſow in May and reap in September. The ſoil bears ſome fruit, and honey is as common there as in Poland. They have always had plenty of black and ſmall cattle; but as their wool is ſo unfit for manufacturing, and the people have no ſort of induſtry, their only cloathing conſiſted of the ſkins of beaſts. At Moſcow there was not ſo much as a ſingle houſe built of ſtone: their wooden huts were made of the trunks of trees covered with moſs. In regard to their manners, they lived like brutes, having a confuſed idea of the Greek church, of which

they

they fancied themſelves members. Their prieſts buried them with a note for St Peter and St Nicholas, which they put into the hand of the deceaſed. This was their principal act of religion; but beyond Moſcow, towards the north-eaſt, the inhabitants of almoſt all the villages were idolaters.

After the reign of John Baſilides the Czars grew rich, eſpecially when another John Baſilowitz had taken Caſan from the Tartars in 1551: but the ſubjects of Ruſſia ſtill continued poor; for as thoſe abſolute ſovereigns had ingroſſed almoſt the whole trade of the empire to themſelves, and raiſed exactions on thoſe who had gained ſomething to live upon, they ſoon accumulated treaſures, and on public days of feſtivity diſplayed even an Aſiatic magnificence.

But they concerned themſelves very little in the affairs of Europe, except in ſome wars againſt Sweden in regard to Finland. The Muſcovites never ſtirred out of their own country; nor had they any ſort of trade by ſea. Even the port of Archangel was at that time as little known as thoſe of America. It was not diſcovered till the year 1553, when the Engliſh went in ſearch of new lands towards the north, after the example of the Portugueſe and the Spaniards, who had made ſo many new ſettlements ſouth, eaſt, and weſt. They were obliged to ſail round Cape North at the extremity of Lapland. Experience has ſhewn, that there are countries where the ſun does not appear above the horizon much above five months. The entire crew of two ſhips periſhed with cold and miſery in thoſe countries: a third, under the command of Captain Chancellor, reached the port of Archangel on the Dwina, the banks of which were inhabited by ſavages. Chancellor went up by the Dwina as far as Moſcow. From that time the Engliſh have been almoſt the entire maſters of the trade of Ruſſia, whoſe valuable furs

furs have greatly contributed to enrich England. This is likewise a branch of trade, of which the Venetians had been stripped. Whoever reads history with any view of improvement, will perceive, that commerce has gone through almost as many revolutions as the government of empires.

Of POLAND.

POLAND having long preserved the Sarmatian manners, began to be respected by Germany, since the family of the Jagellons sat on the throne. The time was past, when the kings of this country were appointed by the emperors, to whom they likewise paid tribute.

The first of the Jagellons was elected King of this republic in 1382. He was Duke of Lithuania; but both the subjects of his duchy and himself were idolaters, and so were the inhabitants of several palatinates. He promised to become Christian, and to incorporate Lithuania with Poland; and on these conditions he was chosen King.

This Jagellon took the name of *Ladislaus*, and was father of that unfortunate Ladislaus King of Hungary and Poland, who, though born with qualities fit to render him one of the most potent kings in the world, was defeated and slain in 1445, at the battle of Varna. This battle Cardinal Julian persuaded him to fight against the Turks, notwithstanding the oath he had sworn; as we have already related.

The two great enemies of Poland were for a long time the Turks, and the knights of the Teutonic order. The latter having formed themselves into a military body during the crusades, and meeting with no success against the Mahometans, turned their arms

arms againſt the idolaters, and againſt the Chriſtians of Pruſſia, a province then belonging to Poland.

In the reign of King Caſimir, in the fifteenth century, theſe religious knights for a long time waged war againſt Poland: at length it was agreed, they ſhould have a ſhare of Pruſſia, on condition that the grand maſter ſhould pay homage to the crown, and become a palatine, in order to have a ſeat in the diet.

At that time none but theſe palatines had a vote in the ſtates of the kingdom; but Caſimir called in the deputies of the nobility towards the year 1460, and ever ſince they have preſerved this right.

The nobles had alſo another privilege, in common with the palatines, that of not being confined for any crime till they were juridically convicted. This indeed was the privilege of impunity. They had alſo the power of life and death over their peaſants. They might ſafely kill one of thoſe bondmen, provided they put ten crowns on the grave; and when a noble Polander ſlew a peaſant belonging to another nobleman, by the law of honour he was obliged to let him have another in his ſtead. But what is moſt mortifying to human nature, is, that ſuch a privilege ſhould ſubſiſt to this very day.

Sigiſmond of the Jagellon race, who died in 1548, was cotemporary of Charles V. and eſteemed a great prince. The Poles in his time were often at war with the Muſcovites, and likewiſe with thoſe Teutonic knights whoſe grand maſter was Albert of Brandenburg. But war was all that the Polanders knew, without underſtanding the art itſelf, which was daily improving in the ſouthern parts of Europe. They fought without order, and had no fortified towns: the principal ſtrength of their armies conſiſted then, as it does ſtill, in their cavalry.

They neglected commerce; nor had they diſcovered till the thirteenth century thoſe ſalt-pits of Cracow,

Cracow, which contribute ſo greatly to enrich the country. The trade of corn and ſalt was left to Jews and to foreigners, who ſoon grew rich thro' the proud indolence of the nobles, and the ſlavery of the people. There were already near 300 ſynagogues in Poland.

This adminiſtration, on the one hand, was an image of the ancient government of the Franks, of the Muſcovites, and of the Huns; and, on the other, it reſembled that of the ancient Romans, inaſmuch as each of the nobles has the right of the tribunes of the people, to oppoſe the decrees of the ſenate by a ſingle word, *Veto*. This power, by being extended to every gentleman, and carried ſo far as to annul by a ſingle vote the collected ſuffrages of the republic, is now become the privilege of anarchy. The Roman tribune was a magiſtrate of the people; and the Poliſh gentleman is only a member, a ſubject of the ſtate. The privilege of this member is to diſturb the whole body. But ſo greatly is ſelf-love flattered by this privilege, that whoſoever would propoſe the abrogation of this cuſtom to the diet, would be ſurely cut in pieces.

The palatines, after depriving the common people of their liberty, were employed in defending their own againſt the incroachments of the regal power. Though the line of the Jagellons had for a long time ſat on the throne, yet theſe princes were never abſolute: nor were they kings by hereditary right; they were always choſen as the chiefs, but not as the maſters of the ſtate. The oath which they took at their coronation contained in expreſs terms, that they deſired the nation to depoſe them, if ever they violated the laws they had ſworn to obſerve. It was not however an eaſy matter always to preſerve this right, while they permitted the ſame family to continue on the throne.

But as their kings have no fortreſſes, nor the diſpoſing

diſpoſing of the public monies, nor the command of the armies, their liberty has been hitherto preſerved. The nation allowed the King only about 1,200,000 livres annually to ſupport his dignity. The King of Sweden has not at preſent ſo much. The Emperor has nothing at all; he is, at his own expence, "the head of the Chriſtian world," *caput orbis Chriſtiani*; while the iſle of Great Britain grants about 22,000,000 of livres to her king for his civil liſt.

Of Sweden and Denmark.

THE kingdoms of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, were elective, like Poland. The peaſants and artificers were ſlaves in Denmark and in Norway; but in Sweden they had a ſeat in the diets of the kingdom, and gave their votes for regulating the impoſts. Never had any neighbouring nations a more violent antipathy againſt each other, than the Swedes and the Danes; and yet theſe people became ſubject to one government by the famous union of Calmar at the end of the fourteenth century.

Albert King of Sweden having attempted to uſurp one third of the farms of the kingdom, his ſubjects revolted. Margaret of Waldemar, Queen of Denmark, who was called the *Semiramis of the North*, took an advantage of thoſe troubles, and cauſed herſelf to be acknowledged, in 1395, Queen of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway. Two years afterwards ſhe united theſe three kingdoms, which were to be governed in perpetuity by the ſame ſovereign.

When we recall to mind, that formerly a rude gang of Daniſh pirates had carried their victorious arms almoſt over all Europe, and conquered England

land and Normandy; when afterwards we behold Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, united under one government, without becoming formidable to their neighbours; it evidently appears, that conqueſts are never made but in a country labouring under a bad government. The Hanſe towns alone, Hamburg, Lubeck, Dantzick, Roſtock, Lunenburg, Wiſmar, were able to reſiſt thoſe three kingdoms, becauſe they had more wealth. Even the city of Lubeck waged war by itſelf againſt the ſucceſſors of Margaret of Waldemar. This union of the three kingdoms, which ſeems ſo ſtriking at firſt ſight, was the cauſe of their misfortunes.

The kingdom of Sweden had one primate, *viz.* the Archbiſhop of Upſal, and ſix biſhops, who had very near the ſame authority as moſt of the clergy had acquired in Germany and in other countries. The Archbiſhop of Upſal in particular, was, like the primate of Poland, the ſecond perſon in the kingdom. Whoſoever is the ſecond wants generally to be the firſt.

It happened in 1452, that the ſtates of Sweden, tired with the Daniſh yoke, unanimouſly choſe the great Marſhal Charles Canutſon for their king.

But being equally tired of the Epiſcopal yoke, they ordered an inquiry to be made into the eſtates which the church had uſurped in the times of confuſion. The Archbiſhop of Upſal, whoſe name was *John of Salſtad*, aſſiſted by the ſix Swediſh biſhops and the reſt of the clergy, excommunicated the King and the ſenate at high maſs; after which they laid their veſtments on the altar, and putting on a cuiraſs and a ſword, they went out of the church to commence a civil war. This laſted ſeven years. During the whole time, there was nothing but a bloody anarchy, and a perpetual ſtruggle between the Swedes, who wanted to have an independent king, and the Danes, who had generally

rally the advantage in the field. The clergy, one time in arms for their country, and another time againſt her, continued to excommunicate, to fight, and to plunder.

At length the Swedes were forced to ſubmit to the Danes under John, ſon of Chriſtian I. King of Denmark; but upon their revolting afterwards, John made his ſenate in Denmark paſs a decree againſt the ſenate of Sweden, by which the latter were condemned to loſe their nobility and their eſtates. But, what is very extraordinary, he cauſed this decree to be confirmed by the Emperor Maximilian; who wrote to the ſtates of Sweden *, *That they ſhould obey, otherwiſe he would proceed againſt them according to the laws of the empire.* I know not how the Abbé de Vertot, in his Revolutions of Sweden, came to forget a fact of ſuch importance, ſo carefully preſerved by Puffendorff.

By this fact it appears, that the German emperors, as well as the popes, have always pretended to univerſal juriſdiction. It appears alſo, that the King of Denmark wanted to flatter Maximilian, whoſe daughter he, in fact, obtained for his ſon Chriſtiern II. This is the way that rights are eſtabliſhed. The chancery of Maximilian wrote to the Swedes, juſt as that of Charlemain would have wrote to the people of Benevento or Guienne. But they wanted the armies and the power of Charlemain.

This Chriſtiern II. took very different meaſures after the death of his father. Inſtead of applying to the Imperial chamber for a decree, he obtained a ſupply of 4000 men of Francis I. King of France. The French till that time had never concerned themſelves in the quarrels of the North. In all probability, as Francis I. then aſpired to the empire, he was deſirous of being ſupported in his pre-

* 1505.

tenſions by Denmark. The French troops fought in Sweden under Chriſtiern; but they were very ill requited, having been diſcharged without any pay, and purſued in their return by the peaſants of the country, ſo that not above 300 men returned to France; the ordinary fate of expeditions into remote countries.

We ſhall ſee, under the article of *Lutheraniſm*, the tyranny of this Chriſtiern. One of his crimes was the cauſe of his loſing three kingdoms. He had juſt concluded an agreement with an adminiſtrator created by the ſtates of Sweden, whoſe name was *Stenon Stura*. It ſeems that Chriſtiern was not ſo much afraid of this adminiſtrator, as of Guſtavus Vaſa, the young nephew of King Canutſon, a prince of an enterpriſing courage, in ſhort the hero and the idol of Sweden. He pretended to want to have a conference with the adminiſtrator in Stockholm, and deſired that the young Guſtavus, and ſix other hoſtages, ſhould be ſent on board his fleet, which was at anchor in the road.

Scarce were they arrived, when he ordered them to be put in irons, and ſet ſail for Denmark with his prey *. Thus was the ſignal given for an open war. Rome concerned herſelf in the quarrel. What induced her to act in this manner, and how ſhe found herſelf in the end miſtaken, I will here conciſely relate.

Troll, Archbiſhop of Upſal, (whoſe cruelties ſhall be taken notice of when I come to ſpeak of Lutheraniſm), notwithſtanding his having been elected by the clergy, his having been confirmed by Leo X. and his being cloſely connected with Chriſtiern in intereſt, was depoſed by the ſtates of Sweden in 1517, and condemned to do penance in a monaſtery. The ſtates were excommunicated by the Pope, according to the uſual ſtyle: but this

* 1518.

excommunication,

excommunication, which of itself was nothing, was rendered very considerable by Christiern's arms.

At that time resided in Denmark a legate from the Pope, named *Arcemboldi*, who had sold indulgences throughout the three kingdoms. Such was his artifice, and such the stupidity of the people, that he had squeezed near two millions of florins out of the poorest country in Europe. He was going to send the money to Rome, when Christiern laid hold of it, in order, he said, to carry on the war against his excommunicated subjects. He succeeded, and consequently was acknowledged King, and the Archbishop Troll was restored *. It is after this restoration, that the King and his primate gave that horrid feast in Stockholm, at which they caused the whole senate, and a multitude of citizens, to be massacred. In the mean time, Gustavus had escaped out of prison, and was returned to Sweden. He was obliged to hide himself for some time in the mountains of Dalecarlia, disguised in a peasant's habit: he even worked at the mines, either for his subsistence, or in order the better to be concealed. But at length he made himself known to these savage men; who detested tyranny so much the more, as their rude simplicity estranged them from all kind of policy. They followed him, and Gustavus was soon at the head of an army. The use of fire-arms was not yet known to those rough peasants; nor were even the rest of the Swedes well acquainted with it. This is what always had gained the Danes the superiority. But Gustavus having purchased some muskets at Lubeck, upon his own credit, his people learned to fight with equal arms.

Lubeck not only furnished him with arms, but likewise supplied him with troops, without which he would have found it very difficult to succeed. Thus the fate of Sweden depended on a little tra-

* 1520.

ding town. Chriſtiern was at that time in Denmark; ſo that the Archbiſhop of Upſal bore the whole weight of the war againſt Sweden's deliverer. At length, contrary to cuſtom, fortune declared in favour of juſtice. Guſtavus, after ſome unlucky ſkirmiſhes, defeated the tyrant's generals, and made himſelf maſter of part of the country.

* Chriſtiern was tranſported with rage; and having had the mother and ſiſter of Guſtavus a long time in his power at Copenhagen, he did an action, which, even after what has been above related of him, is ſo very atrocious, as almoſt to exceed belief: he ordered thoſe two princeſſes to be ſewn into a ſack, and thrown into the ſea.

The tyrant knew how to revenge himſelf, but did not know how to fight: he could murder innocent women, but he durſt not go to Sweden to oppoſe Guſtavus in perſon. In ſhort, having behaved with as much cruelty towards the Danes his ſubjects as towards his enemies, he ſoon became as deteſtable to the people of Copenhagen as to the Swedes.

The Danes were then poſſeſſed of the right of electing their kings, and had alſo that of puniſhing a tyrant. The firſt who threw off their allegiance, were the inhabitants of Jutland, that is, of the duchy of Sleſwick. His uncle Frederick, Duke of Holſtein, availed himſelf of the juſt inſurrection of the people; whoſe rights being thus maintained by force of arms, all the inhabitants of that tract of land which formerly conſtituted the Cherſoneſus Cimbrica, tranſmitted to the tyrant the act of his authentic depoſition by the firſt magiſtrate of Jutland.

This intrepid magiſtrate dared to preſent the ſentence of depoſition to Chriſtiern himſelf, in the city of Copenhagen. The tyrant perceiving the reſt of

* 1521.

the

the ſtate in commotion, being likewiſe hated by his own officers, and grown diſtruſtful of every body, received, like a criminal, in his own palace, the decree preſented to him by a ſingle man unarmed. It is fit poſterity ſhould know the name of this magiſtrate, which was *Mons*. *My name*, ſaid he, *ought to be written over the gates of all wicked princes*. Denmark obeyed the decree; and never was there an inſtance of ſo juſt, ſo ſudden, and ſo quiet a revolution. The King abdicated the government by his precipitate flight*; for he retired to Flanders, ſubject to his brother-in-law Charles V. whom he long ſolicited in vain for ſuccours.

His uncle Frederick was choſen King of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, at Copenhagen: but he was only titular king of Sweden. Guſtavus Vaſa had, about the ſame time, made himſelf maſter of Stockholm, where he was elected King by the Swedes, and ſhewed himſelf the defender, as he had been the deliverer of the kingdom. After ſome years had paſſed, Chriſtiern, with his Archbiſhop Troll, who was ſtrolling about like himſelf, made an attempt to recover part of his dominions. He had ſome hopes of being joined by the malecontents, of which there are always ſome in every new reign. There were ſome in Denmark, and ſome in Sweden; and with theſe he went over to Norway. Guſtavus had changed the religion of the Swedes; and Frederick had permitted the Danes to change theirs. Chriſtiern declared himſelf a good Catholic: but as this did not make him a better prince, nor a better general, nor more beloved, his expedition proved unſucceſsful.

Being ſoon deſerted by all the world, he ſuffered himſelf to be carried to Denmark, in 1532, where he ended his days in priſon. The reſtleſs ambition

* 1523.

of Archbiſhop Troll having armed the city of Lubeck againſt Denmark, he died more glorioufly than Chriſtiern, of the wounds he received in an engagement, though both deſerved a more tragical end.

Guſtavus, the deliverer of his country, enjoyed the crown the reſt of his days in quiet. He was the firſt who made foreign nations ſenſible of the weight which Sweden might have in the affairs of Europe, at a time when European policy was putting on a new face, and when firſt the notion was ſtarted of eſtabliſhing a balance of power.

Francis I. concluded an alliance with Guſtavus; and though the latter was a Lutheran, he ſent him the collar of his order, in ſpite of the ſtatutes. The King of Sweden made it his ſtudy, the remainder of his days, to regulate the ſtate. It required the full exertion of his prudence, to hinder the religion which he had exploded from giving any diſturbance to his government. The Dalecarlians, who were the firſt that helped him to aſcend the throne, were the firſt that moleſted him on this account. The ſavage ruſticity of their manners had rendered them greatly attached to the ancient uſages of their church. They were Catholics only as they were barbarians, by birth and by education. We may form a judgment of this, from a petition which they preſented to him: they deſired the King not to wear ſhort cloaths after the French faſhion; and that whoſoever eat fleſh on Fridays ſhould be burnt. This was almoſt the whole diſtinction they made between Catholics and Lutherans.

The King ſuppreſſed all theſe commotions, and artfully eſtabliſhed the new religion, by preſerving the hierarchy, only retrenching the revenues and power of the biſhops. The ancient laws of the kingdom were reſpected. He cauſed his ſon Frederick to be declared his ſucceſſor in 1544: and he even obtained, that the crown ſhould be continued in

in his family, on condition, that if it ſhould happen to be extinct, the ſtates might reſume their right of election; and that if only a female was left, ſhe ſhould have her dower without pretending to the crown.

Such was the ſituation of affairs in the north at the time of Charles V. The manners of the people were ſimple, but auſtere; they were only leſs virtuous, by being more ignorant. The titles of *Count*, *Marquis*, *Baron*, *Knight*, and moſt of the ſymbols of vanity, had not yet reached the Swedes, no more than the Danes. But the uſeful inventions were alſo unknown to them; they had no regular commerce, no manufactures. It was Guſtavus Vaſa who firſt drew the Swedes out of obſcurity, and who likewiſe encouraged the Danes by his example.

Of HUNGARY.

HUNGARY had juſt the ſame form of government as Poland. The kings were elected at the diets: the palatine of Hungary had the ſame authority as the primate of Poland; and moreover he was judge between the king and the nation. Such had been heretofore the power or the right of the palatine of the empire, of the mayor of the palace in France, and of the juſtice of Arragon. We find in all monarchies, that the royal authority was limited in the beginning.

The nobles had the ſame privileges as in Poland; I mean that of going unpuniſhed, and of doing what they pleaſed with their bondmen: the common people were ſlaves. The forces of the kingdom conſiſted in the cavalry, compoſed of the nobles and their retinue: the infantry was a croud of diſorderly peaſants, who uſed to fight only between ſowing-time and harveſt.

It

It may be remembered, that Hungary embraced Chriſtianity towards the year 1000. Stephen, the Hungarian chief, deſirous of being King, made uſe of force and of religion to obtain his end. Pope Sylveſter II. gave him the title of *King*, and even of *Apoſtolic King*. Some authors pretend, that it was John XVIII. or XIX. who conferred both thoſe honours on Stephen in 1003 or 1004. But diſcuſſions of this kind are not my buſineſs. Sufficient for me it is, to conſider that the popes, in conſequence of this title's having been given in a bull, pretended to exact a tribute from Hungary; and that, in virtue of the word *Apoſtolic*, the Kings of Hungary pretended to diſpoſe of all the benefices of the kingdom.

Thus we ſee that there are prejudices by which kings and entire nations are governed. The chief of a warlike nation would not preſume to take the title of *King* without the Pope's permiſſion. This kingdom, as well as that of Poland, were governed on the ſame plan as the German empire: and yet the kings of Poland and Hungary, though they made counts, never dared to create dukes; and ſo far from taking the title of *Majeſty*, they were only called *Your Excellency*.

The emperors looked upon Hungary as a fief of the empire; and indeed Conrad, *the Salic*, had received homage and tribute from King Peter. On the other hand, the popes maintained that they ought to have the diſpoſing of this crown, becauſe they were the firſt who conferred the title of *King* on the chief of the Hungarian nation.

Here we muſt go back a little to the time when the houſe of France, which heretofore furniſhed Portugal, England, and Naples with kings, ſaw likewiſe its princes ſeated on the throne of Hungary.

The throne being vacant towards the year 1290, the Emperor Rodolphus of Habſburg granted the inveſtiture

inveſtiture of it to his ſon Albert of Auſtria, as if it had been an ordinary fief. On the other hand, Pope Nicholas IV. gave the kingdom away as a benefice to the grandſon of the famous Charles of Anjou, brother of St Lewis, and King of Naples and Sicily. This nephew of St Lewis was called *Charles Martel*; and he pretended to the kingdom, becauſe his mother, Mary of Hungary, was ſiſter to the late king. Among a free people, the being related to their kings, is no title to the crown. The Hungarians choſe neither the perſon named by the Emperor, nor him appointed by the Pope; but Andrew ſirnamed *the Venetian*, from having been married at Venice, a prince of the blood royal. Excommunications and wars enſued; but, after his death and that of his competitor Charles Martel, the decrees of the court of Rome were carried into execution.

Boniface VIII. enjoyed the honour, in 1303, of ſeeing the cauſe of the houſe of Anjou pleaded at the court of Rome, four months before he is ſaid to have died of grief, from the affront which he received of the King of France. Mary, Queen of Naples, harangued before the conſiſtory; and Boniface gave Hungary away to Prince Carobert, ſon of Charles Martel, and this Mary's grandſon.

Carobert was therefore, in reality, King by the grace of the Pope, and ſupported by his party and by his ſword. * In his reign Hungary grew more powerful than the emperors, who conſidered it as a fief. Carobert reunited Dalmatia, Croatia, Servia, Tranſylvania, Walachia, Moldavia, provinces which in a ſeries of years had been diſmembered from the crown.

Lewis, the ſon of Carobert, and brother of Andrew, who was ſtrangled by the orders of Jane his wife and Queen of Naples, greatly increaſed the

* 1308.

power

power of the Hungarians. He undertook an expedition to the kingdom of Naples to revenge this murder, where he entered the capital with a black ſtandard diſplayed before him, on which was repreſented the aſſaſſination of his brother. Queen Jane ſaved herſelf that time by flight; but he ordered his couſin Charles of Durazzo, an accomplice in the crime, to be beheaded. At length another Charles of Durazzo, grand-nephew of the criminal, having got Jane his relation into his power, Lewis of Hungary perſuaded him to put her to the ſame kind of death as that by which ſhe had deſtroyed her huſband.

In Hungary he acquired real glory; for he was a lover of juſtice, and enacted wiſe laws: he aboliſhed the trials of red-hot iron and boiling water, which were in credit in proportion to the ignorance of the people. It is obſervable, that there has been hardly a great man, who was not a lover of letters. This prince cultivated geometry and aſtronomy; he protected likewiſe the other arts. To this philoſophical ſpirit, ſo rare at that time, we muſt attribute the ſuppreſſion of thoſe ſuperſtitious cuſtoms. In thoſe climates a king that underſtood ſound reaſon, was a prodigy. His valour was equal to his other great qualities: he was beloved by his people, and admired by ſtrangers. Towards the latter end of his days, the Poles choſe him for their King, which was in 1370; and he reigned happily forty years in Hungary, and twelve in Poland. The people gave him the title of *Great*, which he really deſerved: and yet he is ſcarce known in Europe; becauſe thoſe over whom he reigned, did not know how to tranſmit his glory to future ages. How few are they who know, that, in the fourteenth century, there was a *Lewis the Great* towards the mountains of Krapack?

So greatly was his memory beloved, that the ſtates choſe

choſe his daughter Mary in 1382, though ſhe was not yet marriageable, and called her *King Mary*; a title which they have likewiſe renewed in our days for the daughter of the laſt Emperor of the houſe of Auſtria.

Hence we ſee, that if on the one hand the people under hereditary governments have ſometimes reaſon to complain of the abuſes of arbitrary power; on the other hand, elective ſtates are ſubject to more violent tempeſts, and that even liberty itſelf, that ſacred privilege of nature, has been ſometimes productive of great calamities. The young *King Mary* was governed by her mother Eliſabeth of Boſnia. The lords diſſatisfied with Eliſabeth's adminiſtration, made uſe of their right to put the crown on another head, by giving it * to Charles of Durazzo, ſirnamed the *Little*, deſcended in the right line from the brother of St Lewis, who was King of the Two Sicilies. Accordingly he ſet out from Naples, and arrived at Buda, where he was ſolemnly crowned, in 1386, and acknowledged as king even by Eliſabeth herſelf.

We are now come to one of thoſe ſtrange events on which the laws are ſilent, and which leave it a moot-point whether to puniſh ſome particular crimes is not a crime itſelf.

Eliſabeth, and her daughter Mary, after having lived in as much harmony as was poſſible with the man who poſſeſſed their crown, invite him to an entertainment, where they cauſe him to be aſſaſſinated in their preſence. Their partiſans immediately ſtir up the people in their favour; and the young *King Mary* †, ſtill under the direction of her mother, reaſcends the throne.

Some time after this, Eliſabeth and Mary making a tour through Lower Hungary, imprudently croſſed the lands of a count of Hornac, ban of Croatia. This ban was what they call in Hungary

* 1386. † 1386.

a supreme count, chief commander of the army, and administrator of justice. Besides, he was particularly attached to the person of the murdered King. Now, was it lawful for him to revenge the King's death, or not? He did not deliberate at all about it; though, in the cruelty of his revenge, he seemed to act only out of a regard to justice. He brings the two queens to a trial, condemns Elisabeth to be drowned, and Mary, as the least guilty, to imprisonment.

At this very time Sigismond, afterwards Emperor, having married Queen Mary, arrived in Hungary. The ban of Croatia looked upon himself as sufficiently strong, or was sufficiently hardy, to bring that very queen to him whose mother he had caused to be drowned. It seems that he only thought he had done an act of strict justice; yet Sigismond ordered his flesh to be torn off with red-hot pincers, till he expired under the torment. His death caused the Hungarian nobility to rise up in arms; so that this whole reign was one continued series of troubles and factions.

It is possible for a person to reign over many states, and yet not be a powerful prince. This Sigismond was at the same time Emperor, King of Bohemia, and of Hungary; but in Hungary he was beaten by the Turks, and once imprisoned by his rebel-subjects; in Bohemia he was almost continually at war with the Hussites; and in the empire his authority was generally counterbalanced by the privileges of the princes and Imperial cities.

* Albert of Austria, son-in-law of Sigismond, was the first prince of the house of Austria that reigned in Hungary.

Like Sigismond, he was Emperor and King of Bohemia; but he enjoyed the crown only three years. The shortness of this reign was the source

* 1438.

of

of the inteſtine diviſions which, together with the irruptions of the Turks, have depopulated Hungary, and made it one of the moſt unfortunate countries upon the face of the earth.

The Hungarians ſtill inſiſting on their liberty of election, refuſed the crown to a child whom Albert of Auſtria left behind him; and at length they choſe that Uladiſlaus, or Ladiſlaus, King of Poland, who, in 1444, as has been already mentioned, loſt the battle of Varna, together with his life.

Frederick III. of Auſtria, Emperor of Germany, in 1440, took the title of *King of Hungary*, but never enjoyed the ſovereignty. He had with him at Vienna the ſon of Albert of Auſtria, whom I ſhall call *Ladiſlaus Albert*, to diſtinguiſh him from others of that name; while the celebrated John Hunniades was making head in Hungary againſt Mahomet II. conqueror of ſo many countries. This John Hunniades was not king, but a general careſſed by a free and warlike nation; and no king was as abſolute as he.

After his death, the crown of Hungary came to the houſe of Auſtria; for this Ladiſlaus Albert was elected. He put to death, by the hands of the common executioner, one of the ſons of the famous John Hunniades, the defender of his country. But among a free people tyranny never goes unpuniſhed. Ladiſlaus Albert of Auſtria was caſt from a throne which had been ſtained with ſuch noble blood, and in puniſhment for his cruelty he ended his days in exile.

There ſtill remained a ſon of that great Hunniades, which was Matthias Corvinus, whom the Hungarians reſcued, by the dint of money, out of the hands of the houſe of Auſtria. This prince waged war both againſt the Emperor Frederick III. from whom he took Auſtria, and againſt the Turks, whom he drove out of Upper Hungary.

After his decease, which happened in 1490, the house of Austria still wanted to add Hungary to her other dominions. The Emperor Maximilian recovered Vienna, but could not obtain possession of this kingdom. It was given to a King of Bohemia, named also *Ladislaus*, whom I shall call *Ladislaus of Bohemia*.

While the Hungarians thus elected their kings, they always limited their authority, after the example of the nobles in Poland, and of the electors of the empire. But it must be confessed, that the Hungarian nobility were petty tyrants, who would not be tyrannized themselves. Their liberty was a fatal independency; and they had reduced the rest of the nation to so miserable a servitude, that the peasants all rose up against their masters for their too great severity. This civil war lasted four years, and contributed to weaken this unhappy kingdom. The nobles being better armed than the peasants, and having likewise all the money in their possession, gained at length the upper hand; and the war concluded with rivetting the chains of the common people, who are still in a state of bondage under their lords.

A country that had been ravaged for so many years, and where, on the one hand, the common people were inslaved and dissatisfied, and, on the other, their lords were almost always divided; such a country, I say, was not long able of itself to withstand the power of the Turkish empire. Hence it is, that when the young King Lewis II. son of the above-mentioned Uladislaus of Bohemia, and brother-in-law to the Emperor Charles V. endeavoured to oppose the arms of Solyman, the whole kingdom of Hungary could not, in that urgent necessity, furnish him with an army of 30,000 fighting men. A Cordelier, named *Tomoré*, was general of this army, in which there were five bishops. This man promised

promiſed King Lewis that he ſhould obtain the victory; but the King was killed, and the army deſtroyed, at the famous battle of Mohats, in 1526. After this ſucceſs, Solyman ſcoured this whole unhappy kingdom with his armies, and carried off above 200,000 captives.

In vain has nature bleſſed this country with mines of gold, and with the real treaſures of corn and wine; in vain has ſhe favoured the inhabitants with robuſt bodies, and with quick underſtandings; ſtill there was nothing hardly to be ſeen, but a vaſt deſert, but ruinous towns, but fields which the huſbandmen tilled with the ſword in one hand; but villages dug under ground, where the inhabitants buried themſelves, with their corn and their cattle; in fine, but a hundred fortified caſtles, the poſſeſſors of which diſputed their independency with the Turks and with the Germans.

There were a great many fine countries beſides in Europe that lay waſte, uncultivated, and uninhabited; ſuch as, the half of Dalmatia, the northern parts of Poland, the borders of the Tanais, and the fruitful province of the Ukraine; while adventurers were going in ſearch of new lands to the utmoſt confines of the ancient world.

Of Scotland.

IN this ſhort ſketch of the political government of the North, I ought not to forget Scotland; of which I ſhall ſpeak more at large, when I come to treat of religion.

Scotland was concerned more than the reſt of the North in the ſyſtem of Europe, becauſe the Scotch had been a long time allied with France, from the enmity they bore to the Engliſh, who wanted to lord it over them. The kings of France were not

at great charges to put the Scotch troops in motion. We find, that Francis I. ſent no more than 30,000 crowns (which is about 130,000 livres preſent money) to the party which, in 1543, had undertaken to declare war againſt England. And indeed Scotland is ſo poor a country, that even now, when united to England, it does not pay more than the fortieth part towards the ſupport of the government.

Whenſoever a poor country borders upon a wealthy ſtate, in proceſs of time it becomes ſubject to bribery and corruption. While this province ſcorned to be venal, it was formidable. The Engliſh, who had made ſo eaſy a conqueſt of Ireland under Henry II. could never eſtabliſh their dominion in Scotland. It was ſubdued indeed by that great general, and able politician, Edward III. but he could not keep it. There has been always ſuch an enmity and jealouſy between the Scotch and the Engliſh, as that which at preſent ſubſiſts between the Spaniards and the Portugueſe. The houſe of Stuarts ſat upon the throne of Scotland ever ſince 1370; but never was there a more unfortunate family. James I. after having been eighteen years a priſoner in England, was aſſaſſinated by his ſubjects in 1444. James II. was killed in an unlucky expedition to Roxburgh, at the age of twenty-nine. James III. was not yet thirty-five years old when he was ſlain by his own ſubjects in a pitched battle. James IV. ſon-in-law of Henry VII. King of England, periſhed in 1513, at the age of thirty-nine, in an engagement with the Engliſh, after a very unfortunate reign. James V. died at thirty, in the very flower of his age, in 1542.

We ſhall behold the daughter of James V. more unfortunate than all her predeceſſors, increaſing the liſt of queens that ended their days by the hands of a common executioner. Her ſon, James VI. King

of

of Scotland, England, and Ireland, by his weakneſs laid the foundation of thoſe revolutions which brought his ſon Charles I. to the ſcaffold, which drove his other ſon James VII. into an indolent baniſhment, and which ſtill keep this unhappy wandering family far from their native country. The leaſt unfortunate period of this houſe, was during the reigns of Charles V. and of Francis I. when James V. father of Mary Queen of Scots, ſat on the throne of Scotland, and when, after his deceaſe, his widow, Mary of Lorrain, mother of Mary Stuart, was intruſted with the regency of the kingdom. The diſtractions of that country did not commence till under the regency of this Mary of Lorrain; and religion, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, was their firſt pretext.

I ſhall not extend this view of the kingdoms of the North any further into the ſixteenth century. I have already ſhewn how Germany, England, France, Italy, and Spain, were ſituated in reſpect to each other. Thus a preliminary idea has been given of the intereſt of the northern and ſouthern powers. We have only to explain more particularly the ſituation of affairs in the empire.

CHAP. XXIX.

Of Germany and of the empire.

THE name of the weſtern empire ſtill ſubſiſted. It had been long ſince no more than an onerous title; which plainly appeared, when that ambitious prince, Edward III. King of England, to whom it was offered by the electors in 1348, refuſed to accept of it. Charles IV. though conſidered as the legiſlator of the empire, yet could not prevail on Pope Innocent VI. and the Roman barons,

to suffer him to be crowned Emperor at Rome, except on condition that he would not lie in the town. His famous *golden bull* remedied, in some measure, the anarchy of Germany. The number of the electors was fixed by this constitution, which was looked upon as a fundamental law, though it has been since altered. In his time the Imperial cities had a deliberative voice at the diets. All the cities of Lombardy were really free; and the empire had only some particular rights over them. The lords continued to be sovereigns upon their lands in Germany and in Lombardy, during the following reigns.

The times of Wenceslaus, Robert, Josse, and Sigismond, were times of darkness, in which we see not the least trace of the majesty of the empire, except at the council of Constance, which was summoned by Sigismond, and where he appeared in all his glory.

The emperors had no demesnes at all left, having parted with them to the bishop, and to the cities, sometimes to make interest against the lords of the great fiefs, and sometimes for the sake of money. All that remained to them was the subsidy of the Roman months, which was paid only in time of war, and for the vain ceremony of being crowned at Rome. They were therefore under an absolute necessity of electing a powerful chief, which was the reason of their giving the sceptre to the house of Austria. They had need of a prince whose territories on the one hand communicated with Italy, and on the other were able to stem the inundations of the Turks. This advantage Germany found in Albert II. Duke of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, which is what fixed the Imperial dignity in his family: the throne became hereditary, without ceasing to be elective. Albert and his successor were chosen, because they were possessed of extensive demesnes; and Rodolph of Habsburg, the stock of this

this family, was chosen because he had none. The reason is obvious. Rodolph was elected at a time when the houses of Saxony and Suevia threatened the empire with arbitrary power; and Albert II. at a time when the house of Austria was judged to have power sufficient to defend, though not to inslave the empire.

Upon this account Frederick III. was elected Emperor. Germany in his time was in a state of languid tranquillity. He was not so powerful as he might have been; and we have already seen, that he was far from being the *sovereign of Christendom*, as was pompously mentioned in his epitaph.

Maximilian I. when only King of the Romans, began to make a more shining figure by the battle of Guinegaste, which he won of the French in 1479, and by the treaty of 1472, by which he obtained the quiet possession of Franche-Comté, Artois, and Charolois. But as he received nothing from the Low Countries which belonged to his son Philip the *Handsome*, nothing from the people of Germany, and but a very small matter from his own territories, which were kept in awe by France; he never would have had any credit in Italy, were it not for the league of Cambray, and for Lewis XII. who was working for Maximilian.

* At first the Pope and the Venetians hindered him from being crowned Emperor at Rome; so that, as he could not receive the crown from the Pope, he only took the title of *Emperor elect*. After the league of Cambray †, he took pay of Henry VIII. King of England, which was 100 crowns a-day. In his dominions in Germany he had men enough to fight the Turks; but he had not those treasures by which France, England, and Italy, at that time were able to maintain a war.

Germany was become a republic of princes and

* 1508. † 1513.

cities,

cities, though the head expreſſed himſelf in his edicts as abſolute maſter of the univerſe. It was divided, as early as the year 1500, into ten circles; and the directors of theſe circles being ſovereign princes, and the generals and colonels of the troops of the circles being paid by the provinces, and not by the Emperor, this eſtabliſhment connected all the parts of Germany together, and maintained its freedom. As the ſupreme court of judicature, the Imperial chamber, was paid by the princes and by the cities, and did not reſide in the Emperor's private demeſnes, this was alſo a ſupport of the public liberty. It is very true, that this chamber could not put its decrees in execution againſt the great princes, unleſs it was ſupported by the reſt of the empire; but this very abuſe of liberty ſhewed its exiſtence. This is ſo far matter of fact, that the aulic court, which took its preſent form in 1512, and was dependent only on the emperors, ſoon became the principal ſupport of their authority.

Under this form of government, Germany was at that time as happy as any other ſtate in the world. As it was inhabited by a warlike people, capable of undergoing the greateſt fatigues, there was no appearance that the Turks would be ever able to ſubdue it. The ſoil being ſo fruitful, and ſo well cultivated, the people had no occaſion to go abroad, as formerly, in ſearch of new ſettlements; and they were neither ſo rich, nor ſo poor, nor ſo united, as to be able to conquer all Italy.

But what right had Germany then to Italy, and to the Roman empire? The ſame as that of the Othos, and of the Imperial houſe of Suabia; the ſame as that which had coſt ſo much blood, and had ſuffered ſo many changes, ever ſince John XII. a Roman patrician as well as pope, inſtead of reviving the courage of the ancient Romans, had the imprudence to call in foreigners to his aſſiſtance.

Rome

Rome had reaſon to repent it; for ever afterwards there has been a kind of war between the prieſthood and the empire, as likewiſe between the rights of the emperors, and the liberties of the Italian provinces. The title of *Cæſar* has been only the ſource of conteſted rights, of undetermined diſputes, of apparent grandeur, and of real weakneſs. The time was over when the Othos made tributary kings. If Lewis XII. had cultivated a good underſtanding with the Venetians, inſtead of going to war with them, probably the emperors would never more have ſet foot in Italy. But it is a neceſſary conſequence of the diſcord of the Italian princes, and of the nature of the Papal government, that a great part of this country ſhould be always a prey to ſtrangers.

CHAP. XXX.

Cuſtoms of the fifteenth and ſixteenth centuries.

WE find, that in Europe there were hardly any abſolute ſovereigns. Before the reign of Charles V. the emperors durſt not ſo much as pretend to arbitrary power. The popes indeed were become a great deal more maſters than formerly in Rome, but leſs in the church. The crowns of Hungary and Bohemia were ſtill elective, like thoſe of the north. Now, all elections neceſſarily ſuppoſe a compact between the king and the nation. The kings of England could neither make, nor abuſe the laws, without the concurrence of parliament. In Caſtile, Iſabella had reſpected the cortes, which are the ſtates of the kingdom. In Arragon, Ferdinand the Catholic had not been able to deſtroy the authority of the juſticiary, who thought he had a right of trying crowned heads. France alone,

ſince

ſince the reign of Lewis XI. was become an abſolute monarchy. Happy government, when ſuch a king as Lewis XII repaired the miſtakes which he committed with foreign ſtates, by his affection for his people!

The general policy of Europe was perfected to ſuch a degree, that the private wars of the feudal lords were no longer ſuffered any where: but the cuſtom of duels continued.

Theſe combats were anathematized by the decrees of the popes, who have been obſerved to enact wiſe laws, and even laws uſeful to Chriſtendom, where their own perſonal intereſts were not concerned: but yet they were permitted by a great many biſhops. The parliaments of France ſometimes ordered them: Witneſs the duel between Le Gris and Carrouges, under Charles V. After that time, a great many duels were fought according to law. The ſame abuſe was likewiſe ſupported in Germany, in Italy, and in Spain, by forms conſidered as eſſential. Eſpecially, they were ſure to confeſs, and to receive the ſacrament, before they prepared themſelves for committing murder. The good Chevalier Bayard always took care to have a maſs celebrated, when he went to fight a duel. The combatants choſe a godfather, whoſe buſineſs it was to match their arms, and eſpecially to ſee that they had no inchantments about them: for theſe knights were extremely credulous.

There have been inſtances of ſome of this order of men, who have gone in ſearch of duels into foreign countries, without any other motive than the deſire of ſignalizing their proweſs. John Duke of Bourbonnois publiſhed a declaration in 1414, *That he would go over to England with ſixteen knights, and there fight it out, in order to avoid idleneſs, and to merit the good graces of the fair lady whoſe humble ſervant he was.*

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The tournaments, though likewise condemned by the popes, were every where in use. They were still called *ludi Gallici*, because Godfrey of Preuilly had made a code of the laws relating to them, in the eleventh century. Above 100 knights had been killed at these sports, and yet they were more than ever in vogue.

They lasted till the unhappy catastrophe of Henry II. The remains of the spirit of chivalry perished with this monarch, to appear no more except in romances. This spirit prevailed greatly at the time of Francis I. and Charles V. Francis was a true knight, and Charles would fain be one. They gave one another publicly the lie, and then sent each other a formal challenge: afterwards they had a familiar interview, when the Emperor intrusted himself into the King's power, without any other security than his word of honour, which he was incapable of violating. There are a great many passages in the reigns of both these princes, which remind us of the heroic and fabulous times: but the more refined policy of Charles had a nearer resemblance to the present age.

The art of war, the order of battle, together with offensive and defensive weapons, were quite different from what they are in our days.

The Emperor Maximilian had introduced the arms of the Macedonian phalanx, which were the pikes eighteen feet long. The Swiss made use of them in the wars of Lombardy; but they changed them afterwards for the two-handed sword.

The arquebuses were become a necessary weapon of offence against those steel ramparts with which the gendarmes were covered. Very few helmets or cuirasses were proof against these arquebuses. The gendarmery, who were called the *main battle*, fought on foot as well as on horseback.

back. In the fifteenth century, the French gendarmery were the moſt eſteemed.

The German and Spaniſh infantry were reputed the beſt. The military cry was aboliſhed almoſt in all armies.

With reſpect to political government, I find that the miniſters of moſt kingdoms were cardinals. In Spain, I behold a Ximenes under Iſabella, who, after the death of the Queen, is become regent of the kingdom; who conſtantly dreſſed in a Cordelier's habit, places his whole pride in trampling the Spaniſh faſtuouſneſs under his ſandals; who raiſes an army at his own expence, carries it over to Africa, and takes Oran; who, in ſhort, is abſolute throughout the kingdom, till the young King Charles V. ſends him back to his archbiſhoprick of Toledo, which breaks his heart.

In France, Lewis XII. is governed by the Cardinal d' Amboiſe; and Cardinal Duprat is miniſter to Francis I. In England, Henry VIII. is twenty years ſubject to Cardinal Wolſey, a butcher's ſon, as proud a man as Amboiſe, and who, like him, wanted to be pope, and, like him, was diſappointed. Charles V. intruſted the adminiſtration of Spain to his preceptor Cardinal Adrian, whom he afterwards made pope; and Cardinal Granvelle had, ſome time after, the government of Flanders. Cardinal Martinuſius was miniſter in Hungary, under Ferdinand brother of Charles V.

That ſuch a number of clergymen ſhould have the adminiſtration of countries ſubject to a military government, is not only becauſe the kings of thoſe countries are more apt to confide in a prieſt, whom they have no reaſon to fear, than in a general of an army, of whom they are often jealous; but likewiſe becauſe thoſe churchmen are frequently better inſtructed, and better qualified for the management

nagement of political affairs, than generals and courtiers.

The customs of civil life were all different from ours: the doublet and short cloak were become the dress of the several courts of Europe. Yet the gentlemen of the law still wore a long close robe; and the trading people a short robe, which came half-way down their legs.

In the reign of Francis I. there were only two coaches in Paris, one for the Queen, and the other for Diana of Poitiers. Both men and women went on horseback.

There was so great an increase of specie, that in 1519 Henry VIII. King of England promised a portion of 333,000 crowns of gold to his daughter Mary, who was to be married to the eldest son of Francis I. Never had there been an instance of so large a dower.

The interview between Francis I. and Henry VIII. was a long time celebrated for its magnificence. Their camp was called the *camp of the cloth of tissue.* But from this transient parade and effort of luxury, we must not conclude that the magnificence was general, nor that they had those useful conveniencies so superior to the pomp of a day, which in our days are become so common. Industry had not as yet changed those huts of wood and parget, of which the city of Paris was composed, into sumptuous palaces. London was still worse built, and they lived much harder; even the first peers of the realm carried their wives behind them on horseback, when they went into the country. Thus it was, that all the princesses travelled, their heads covered with a riding-hood of waxed linen in rainy weather. They went in no other habit to the King's palace; and this usage continued till the middle of the seventeenth century. The magnificence of Charles V. of Francis I. of Hen-

ry VIII. and of Leo X. was confined to days of ſhow and ſolemnity. But now, the daily entertainments, the multitude of gilded coaches, the vaſt number of lamps with which the large towns are lighted by night, form a far nobler ſhow, and are a greater mark of plenty than the moſt gaudy ceremonies of the monarchs of the ſixteenth century.

As early as the reign of Lewis XII. they had begun to introduce the ſilken and gold ſtuffs manufactured in Italy, inſtead of the coſtly furs. There were no ſilk manufactures at that time at Lyons. Goldſmiths ware was likewiſe very bad; and Lewis XII. having, by an indiſcreet ſumptuary law, forbid it throughout his kingdom, the French had their plate from Venice. The goldſmiths were thus reduced to poverty, when the King wiſely repealed his law.

Francis I. growing an œconomiſt towards the latter end of his days, iſſued out an edict againſt the uſe of gold and ſilken ſtuffs; a prohibition renewed by Henry II. But if theſe laws had been ſtrictly obſerved, the manufactures of Lyons would have been deſtroyed. What induced them to enact ſuch laws, was the importation of the ſilk from abroad. Under Henry II. none but biſhops were permitted to wear ſilk cloaths. The princes and princeſſes had the excluſive privilege of wearing ſcarlet cloaths, either of ſilk or of wool. In fine, in the year 1563, none except princes and biſhops were allowed the privilege of wearing ſilk ſhoes.

Theſe ſumptuary laws prove only, that the government had not always the moſt extenſive views, and that it appeared more eaſy to the miniſters to preſcribe than to encourage induſtry.

There had been no plantations as yet of mulberry-trees but in Italy and in Spain: gold was manufactured only at Venice and at Milan; and yet the French faſhions began already to be copied

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in Germany, in England, and in Lombardy. The Italian hiſtorians complain, that ſince the expedition of Charles VIII. their countrymen affected the French dreſs, and that they ſent to France for all the ornaments of attire.

Pope Julius II. was the firſt who let his beard grow, in order to inſpire the people with a new degree of veneration by this ſingularity. Francis I. Charles V. and all the other kings, followed this example, which was immediately adopted by their courtiers. But the gentlemen of the long robe, who are always attached to the ancient cuſtoms, be they what they will, continued to have their faces ſhaved, while the young captains affected the mark of gravity and old age. This is but a trifling obſervation; yet it comes into the hiſtory of uſages and cuſtoms.

I ſhall elſewhere treat of that empire which the Italians alone had acquired, in the ſeveral branches of ſcience, of literature, and of the polite arts. While the troops of Charles V. were plundering Rome; while Barbaroſſa was ravaging the coaſts of Italy; and while the diſſenſions of the princes of that nation laid waſte the fineſt country in the world; then it was that thoſe great geniuſes, Arioſto, Taſſo, Machiavel, Guicciardin, Cardinal Bembo, Triſſini, Caſa, Berni, Raphael, Michael Angelo, Titian, Paolo Veroneſe, and ſo many others, adorned the age, and rendered their names immortal.

PART THE FOURTH.

CHAP. I.

State of the polite arts in the ſixteenth century.

THE glory of the polite arts is ſuperior to the injuries of time, and more deſerving of our attention than the cuſtoms of nations introduced by caprice, the ſucceſſion of laws aboliſhed by age, or the quarrels of princes, which die with them. This glory, during the whole ſixteenth century, fell to the ſhare of Italy only. Nothing can give us a ſtronger idea of ancient Greece: for as the arts flouriſhed in Greece in the midſt of foreign and civil wars, ſo they had the ſame fate in Italy; and almoſt every thing in that happy climate was carried to its ſummit of perfection, while the armies of Charles V. were plundering Rome, while Barbaroſſa was ravaging their ſea-coaſts, and the diſſenſions of the ſeveral princes and republics interrupted the tranquillity of the country.

Italy had its Thucydides in Guicciardin, who wrote the hiſtory of the wars of his own time, as Thucydides wrote the war of Peloponneſus. There were no orators like Demoſthenes, Pericles, and Æſchines, in any of the Italian provinces; the government, in moſt places, being inconſiſtent with that kind of merit. Their ſtage, though far ſhort of that degree of perfection to which the French theatre afterwards attained, might be compared to the Greek drama, which they began to revive; and Machiavel's Mandragora alone is preferable perhaps to all Ariſtophanes's comedies. Beſides, Machiavel was an excellent hiſtorian, and a man of fine genius;

nius; so that there can be no manner of comparison betwixt him and Aristophanes. If we would impartially weigh Homer's Odyssey and Ariosto's Rolando in the same scales, the Italian, in many respects, has greatly the advantage. They had both the same defect, a luxuriant fancy, and an excessive fondness of the marvellous: but Ariosto has made us amends by the exactness of his allegories, by the keenness of his satire, by his profound knowledge of human nature, by his comic graces intermixed with strokes of terror; in a word, by such a cluster of beauties of every kind, that he has found out the secret of making us fall in love with a monster.

In regard to the Iliad, let every impartial judge consult his own breast, and tell us what he thinks would be his real opinion upon the first reading of this poem, and that of Tasso, without knowing the names of the authors, or the time when their works were composed, and determining only by the pleasure he received from each. Could he possibly avoid giving the preference to Tasso in every respect? Would not he find, that the Italian was more interesting, had more œconomy and order, more variety and exactness, more imbellishments, and more of that softness which adds a lustre to the sublime? I question whether they will even bear a comparison a few ages hence.

It seems indubitable, that painting was carried to a pitch of perfection in this sixteenth century unknown to the ancient Greeks; since not only they had not the variety of colours used by the Italians, but they were ignorant of the art of perspective, and of the chiaro-oscuro.

Sculpture, the easiest and the most confined art of the two, was that in which the Greeks excelled; and the Italians glory in not falling far short of their models. They have surpassed them in archi-

tecture; and all nations acknowledge, that nothing can be compared to the principal church of modern Rome; the fineſt, the largeſt, and the boldeſt temple the world ever beheld.

Muſic was not thoroughly cultivated till after this ſixteenth century; but we have the ſtrongeſt preſumption to believe, that it is greatly ſuperior to that of the Greeks, who have left us no monument whereby we can in the leaſt imagine, that they had a knowledge of harmony, or ſinging in parts.

The ingraving of prints is an art invented at Florence in the fifteenth century, and was even then in its perfection. The Germans had the honour of being the inventors of printing, much about the time that ingraving was diſcovered; and by this diſcovery alone they have multiplied human knowledge. It is not true, notwithſtanding what the Engliſh authors of the Univerſal Hiſtory pretend, that Fauſtus was condemned to the flames by the parliament of Paris as a conjurer. But it is true, that his factors or agents, who came to Paris to vend the firſt printed editions, were accuſed of magic. This accuſation indeed was attended with no conſequence: it is only a melancholy proof of the groſs ignorance which overſpread Europe, and which even the art of printing could not for a long time diſpel. The parliament, in 1474, ordered all the books to be ſeized, which one of the factors had brought from Mentz. Lewis XI. was obliged to forbid thoſe magiſtrates from taking cogniſance of this affair, and to order that the proprietors ſhould be reimburſed the value of their books.

Real philoſophy did not begin to emit its rays till towards the cloſe of this bright century. Galileo was the firſt who taught phyſics to ſpeak the language of truth and reaſon. It was a little before his time that Copernicus, on the frontiers of

Poland,

Poland, discovered the true system of the world. Galileo was not only the first that had a true taste of physics, but he wrote as elegantly as Plato: and in this he had incomparably the advantage of the Greek philosopher, that he asserted nothing but what was certain and intelligible. The manner in which this great man was treated by the inquisition towards the latter end of his days, would reflect perpetual disgrace on Italy, if this disgrace was not wiped off by the very glory of Galileo. Seven inquisitors passed a decree in 1616, declaring the opinion of Copernicus, so beautifully illustrated by the Florentine philosopher, *not only heretical in faith, but absurd in philosophy.* This sentence against an opinion which has been since so variously confirmed, is a pregnant testimony of the force of prejudice. It should be a lesson to those who have nothing but power on their side, to be silent when philosophy speaks, and not to attempt to determine points which do not fall under their jurisdiction. Galileo was afterwards condemned by the same tribunal to do penance in prison, and obliged to retract on his knees. His sentence was indeed milder than that of Socrates; but it exposes the stupidity of the Roman judges, as much as the condemnation of Socrates shewed the ignorance of the judges of Athens. There is a sort of fatality in human nature, that truth is to be persecuted when first it begins to make its appearance. Philosophy, thus restrained, could not make so great a progress in the sixteenth century as the polite arts.

The religious disputes, in which the public were engaged in Germany, in the North, in France, and in England, retarded instead of forwarding the progress of reason. It was impossible for people that were blind, and fought like madmen, to find out the right road to truth. These quarrels were only one distemper more, added to the human mind.

The

The polite arts continued to flouriſh in Italy, becauſe the peſt of religious controverſy had not penetrated into that country; and it ſo happened, that while they were cutting one another's throats in Germany, in France, and in England, for things they did not underſtand; Italy completely at reſt, ever ſince the amazing event of the plundering of Rome by the army of Charles V. applied herſelf more than ever to the improvement of the polite arts. In other countries the religious wars were productive of barbariſm and ruins; while Rome, and ſeveral other cities in Italy, were diſplaying the marvels of architecture. Ten popes ſucceſſively and almoſt without any interruption, contributed to finiſh the church of St Peter, and at the ſame time encouraged the other arts. Nothing of the like kind was to be ſeen in the reſt of Europe. In a word, Italy alone had then the glory of being the ſeat of genius and taſte, a glory which had been heretofore confined to Greece.

CHAP. II.

Of Charles V. *and Francis* I. *till the election of Charles* V. *to the Imperial dignity in* 1519. *Of the Emperor Maximilian's ſcheme to make himſelf Pope. Of the battle of Marignan.*

TOWARDS this century, in which Charles V. obtained the Imperial diadem, the popes had no longer the power to diſpoſe of this dignity as in former times; and the emperors had forgot their rights to the capital of Europe. Theſe mutual pretenſions were not unlike thoſe empty titles of *King of France*, and *King of Navarre*; the former ſtill aſſumed by the King of England, and the latter retained by the King of France.

The

The parties of Guelphs and Gibellines were almoſt entirely forgot. Maximilian had only acquired a few towns in Italy, for which he was indebted to the league of Cambray, having wreſted them from the Venetians; but he had deviſed a new method of ſubjecting Rome and Italy to the emperors; which was, to become Pope himſelf after the demiſe of Julius II. having buried his wife, daughter of Galeazzo Maria, Duke of Milan *. There are ſtill extant two letters in his own hand-writing, one to his daughter Margaret, governeſs of the Low Countries, the other to the Lord of *Chievres*, wherein he diſcloſes his deſign.

Who can tell what might have happened, had the ſame head been incircled with the Imperial and Papal crowns? the ſyſtem of Europe might have been changed; but it took quite a different turn under Charles V.

Immediately upon the death of Maximilian †, when the diſputes about indulgences, and Luther, began to divide Germany, Francis I. King of France, and Charles of Auſtria, King of Spain, of the two Sicilies, and of Navarre, and ſovereign of the ſeventeen provinces of the Netherlands, ſtood candidates for the Imperial dignity, at a time when Germany, menaced by the Turks, had need of ſuch a chief as Francis I. or Charles of Auſtria. There had been no inſtance before of ſuch potent kings making intereſt for the Imperial diadem. Francis I. was five years older than his competitor, and by his late exploits ſeemed more deſerving of that dignity.

Upon his acceſſion to the crown in 1515, the republic of Genoa ſurrendered herſelf once more into the hands of the French, by means of the intrigues of ſome of her own citizens. And immediately Francis I. marched into Italy with the ſame rapidity as his predeceſſors.

* 1512. † 1518.

His

His buſineſs was to conquer the dutchy of Milan, which had been loſt by Lewis XII. and to wreſt it once more from the unhappy family of Sforza. He had the Venetians on his ſide, who wanted at leaſt to recover the Veroneſe, of which they had been ſtripped by Maximilian. Againſt him were Pope Leo X. an active and intriguing prince, and the Emperor Maximilian, who was worn out with age, and incapable of acting; but his moſt dangerous enemies were the Swiſs, ſtill irritated againſt France, ſince their quarrel with Lewis XII. and inflamed by the harangues of Matthew Schaner, Cardinal of Sion. They then aſſumed the title of *defenders of the popes*, and *protectors of princes*; and indeed for the laſt ten years this was not an imaginary title.

The King, on his march to Milan, continued all the while to negotiate with this nation. Practiſed in the art of diſſimulation, which they had learned of the Cardinal of Sion, they amuſed his Majeſty with empty promiſes, till news being brought that the military cheſt of France was arrived, they thought they ſhould have it in their power to carry off the money, King and all, and at the ſame time to deliver Italy.

An army of 25,000 Swiſs *, with St Peter's keys on their backs and breaſts, ſome of them armed with pikes eighteen feet long, with which they moved in cloſe battalion, others with large two-handed ſwords, ruſhed with loud ſhouts towards the King's camp in the neighbourhood of Marignan. Of all the battles fought in Italy, this was the bloodieſt and the longeſt. The French and Swiſs being mixed together in the obſcurity of the night, were obliged to wait for day-light to renew the engagement. The King ſlept on the carriage of a cannon within fifty paces of a Swiſs battalion. In this engage-

* 1515.

ment

ment those people always attacked, and the French were upon the defensive. This, in my opinion, is a sufficient proof that the French may have that patient courage, which is sometimes as necessary as the impetuous ardor generally allowed them. It was very extraordinary in a young prince, only one and twenty years of age, not to lose his presence of mind in so long and so bloody an action. There was very little chance for the Swiss to be victorious, because the black German bands in the King's army were as good infantry as theirs, and they had no gendarmes. What surprises me, is their being able to withstand almost two days the weight of those heavy horse, which were continually pressing upon their broken battalions. The old Marshal *de Trivulce* used to call this *the battle of the giants*. All the world allowed, that the honour of this victory was chiefly owing to the famous Constable *Charles of Bourbon*, who was afterwards ill rewarded, and took too dear a revenge. The Swiss at length turned their backs, though not entirely routed; they lost upwards of 10,000 of their comrades upon the field of battle, and left Milanese to the conqueror. Maximilian Sforza was carried into France like Lewis the Moor, but upon milder conditions. He became a subject, whereas the other had been made a captive *. This sovereign of the finest province in Italy, was permitted to live in France with a moderate pension.

After the battle of Marignan, and the conquest of the Milanese, Francis became the ally of Pope Leo X. and also of the Swiss, who at length chose rather to supply the French with troops, than to fight against them. He compelled the Emperor Maximilian to restore the Veronese to the Venetians, who have kept it ever since. He procured for Leo X. the duchy of Urbin, which still belongs to

* 1515.

the

the church. Thus he was considered as the umpire of Italy, as the greatest prince in Europe, and the best qualified for the Imperial crown, to which he now aspired after the death of Maximilian. Fame had not as yet so much to boast of in favour of young Charles of Austria; and this very circumstance determined the electors to give him the preference. They were afraid of being under too great a subjection to the King of France; and less apprehensive of a master, whose dominions, though more extensive, were remote and disjointed. Charles was therefore chosen Emperor *, notwithstanding the 400,000 crowns with which Francis I. imagined he had purchased the electoral votes.

CHAP. III.

Of Charles V. *and of Francis* I. *till the battle of Pavia.*

EVERY body knows the rivalship, which from that time arose between those two princes. And how could they be otherwise than continually at war? Charles, as sovereign of the Netherlands, laid claim to Artois, and to a great many towns: as King of Naples and Sicily, he saw Francis I. ready to make good his pretensions to those dominions, founded on the same title as those of Lewis XII.: as King of Spain, he had the usurpation of Navarre to maintain: as Emperor, he had the great fief of the duchy of Milan to defend against the pretensions of France. What a number of motives for laying Europe waste!

Between these two great rivals Leo X. would fain hold the balance. But how is it possible for him to do it? Whom shall he chuse to be his vassal, or King

* 1519.

of

of the Two Sicilies, Charles or Francis? What is to become of the old pontifical law enacted in the thirteenth century, *That no King of Naples shall ever be Emperor?* Leo X. had not power sufficient to see this law executed: it might be respected in Rome, but it was disregarded in the empire. The Pope is soon obliged to grant a dispensation to Charles V. who indeed condescends to sue for it; he is obliged to have a vassal against his will who makes him tremble. He grants this dispensation, and the next moment he repents it.

This balance which Leo X. wanted to hold, was in the hands of Henry VIII. Hence he was courted by the King of France and by the Emperor; both of whom endeavoured to gain his chief minister Cardinal Wolsey.

Francis I. * contrives the famous interview with the King of England in the neighbourhood of Calais. Charles afterwards, upon his arrival from Spain, goes over to England, and meets Henry at Canterbury, who conducts him back to Calais and Gravelines.

It was natural that the King of England should side with the Emperor, because by such an alliance he might expect to recover those provinces in France which had been enjoyed by his ancestors; whereas, by joining with Francis I. he could make no acquisitions in Germany, where he had no pretensions.

While this prince is thus in suspense, Francis I. begins this endless quarrel by taking possession of Navarre. I am far from losing sight of the general view of Europe, to refute the details of a few historians; yet I cannot forbear observing how greatly Puffendorff is mistaken on some occasions. He says, that this expedition against Navarre was undertaken in 1516, immediately after the death of Ferdinand the Catholic, by the dethroned king. To which he adds, that Charles had always his *Plus ultra* present

* 1520.

to his mind, and was daily forming vaſt deſigns. Here are ſeveral miſtakes.

In 1516, Charles was only fifteen years old; a time of life from which vaſt deſigns are hardly expected; and he had not yet taken *Plus ultra* for his motto. In ſhort, it was not John d'Albret that marched into Navarre in 1516, upon the death of Ferdinand; John d' Albret died this very ſame year: but it was Francis I. that made a tranſient conqueſt of this kingdom in the name of Henry d'Albret, not in 1516, but in 1521.

Neither Charles VIII. nor Lewis XII. nor Francis I. preſerved their conqueſts. Navarre was no ſooner ſubdued than recovered again by the Spaniards. From that time the French were conſtantly obliged to fight againſt the Spaniſh forces at every extremity of the kingdom, towards Fontarabia, Flanders, and Italy; a ſituation which continued till the eighteenth century.

At the ſame time * that the Emperor's Spaniſh troops retook Navarre, his German forces were penetrating into Picardy, and his adherents in Italy were exciting the inhabitants in his favour.

Pope Leo X. ever wavering betwixt Francis I. and Charles V. at that time inclined towards the Emperor. He had reaſon to complain of the French: they had attempted to take Regio from him, as an appendage of the Milaneſe; and, by unſeaſonable violences, they were rendering themſelves odious to their new neighbours. Lautrec, governor of the duchy of Milan, had ordered Signor Pallavicini, ſuſpected of raiſing an inſurrection, to be quartered; and the confiſcated eſtate he gave to his own brother *de Foix*. This occaſioned a general diſguſt: and the French government neither redreſſed theſe diſorders by a prudent conduct, nor by ſending the neceſſary ſupplies of money.

* 1521.

The

The Swiſs troops in the pay of France proved of no ſort of uſe: there were alſo troops of that nation in the Imperial army; and the Cardinal of Sion, a name ſo fatal to the kings of France, having enticed thoſe that were in the French army to go back to their own country; Lautrec, governor of the Milaneſe, was firſt driven from the capital, and ſhortly out of Italy *. Leo X. died at the time when the temporal monarchy of Rome was gaining ſtrength, and the ſpiritual beginning to decline.

Then indeed the power of Charles V. and the wiſdom of his council, appeared in their full luſtre. He had ſufficient intereſt to obtain the Papal dignity for his preceptor Adrian, though a native of Utrecht, and almoſt a ſtranger at Rome. His council, conſiſting of men of greater judgment than that of Francis I. acted with ſuch policy as to prevail on Henry VIII. to declare againſt France. This prince flattered himſelf, that he might diſmember at leaſt thoſe provinces which had been heretofore poſſeſſed by his predeceſſors. Charles himſelf ſets out for England, to forward the armament and the imbarkation of the troops. Not long after, he artfully detached the Venetians from their alliance with France, and brought them over to his own ſide. In ſhort, he had a party at Genoa, who, with the aſſiſtance of his troops, drove away the French, and made a new doge under the Imperial protection. Thus both his power and his policy began to ſtrengthen, and to incompaſs the French monarchy on every ſide.

Under theſe circumſtances Francis I. expended too much on his pleaſures, and kept but very little money for his affairs; ſo that he was obliged to take a large grate of maſſive ſilver, that weighed near 7000 marks, with which Lewis XI. had incircled the tomb of St Martin at Tours. The ſtate indeed

* 1521.

ſtood more in need of this ſilver than St Martin, yet the nature of the reſource was a proof of his urgent want. Beſides, it had been now ſome years ſince he had diſpoſed of twenty new employments in the law for a ſum of money. Thus the public ſale of juſtice, and the ſtripping of the ſhrines, ſhewed very plainly the bad ſtate of his finances. The King perceived, that all Europe was combined againſt him; and yet, far from being diſheartened, he faced the enemy on every ſide. The frontiers of Picardy were put into ſuch order, that though the Engliſh were poſſeſſed of Calais, the key of France, yet they were not able to force their way into the kingdom; in Flanders the war was carried on with alternate ſucceſs; towards Spain no attack was made; in ſhort, the King having nothing left in Italy but the caſtle of Cremona, determined to go in perſon, and reconquer the Milaneſe, that fatal object of French ambition.

To find reſources for anſwering his purpoſes, and to enable him to undertake a ſecond time the conqueſt of the duchy of Milan, at the very time when France was attacked on every ſide, the creation of twenty new employments in the law, and St Martin's ſilver grate, were inſufficient. The King's demeſnes were alienated for the firſt time; the land-tax, and other impoſts, were raiſed. This was a great advantage which the kings of France had over their neighbours; Charles V. was not ſo deſpotic in any of his dominions: but this unhappy facility of exhauſting the ſubject, was productive of ſeveral calamities to France.

Among the cauſes of the diſaſters that befel Francis I. we may reckon his injuſtice to the Conſtable of Bourbon, to whom he was indebted for the ſucceſs of the battle of Marignan. The mortifications the Conſtable ſuffered upon all occaſions, were his leaſt complaint. Louiſa of Savoy, Ducheſs of Angouleme,

gouleme, the King's mother, had made overtures of marriage to the Conſtable upon the death of his wife; meeting with a repulſe, ſhe reſolved to ruin him, ſince ſhe could not have him for her huſband; ſhe went to law with him in a cauſe that by all the lawyers was reckoned very unjuſt; and none but an omnipotent Queen-mother could have ſucceeded.

The point in diſpute was the whole eſtate of the branch of Bourbon. The judges were influenced by the court to paſs a decree, by which the eſtate was ſequeſtered, and the Conſtable left deſtitute. This prince ſends his friend the Biſhop of Autun to the King, to beg his Majeſty would grant him a demurrer. The King would not ſo much as ſee the Biſhop. The Conſtable, driven to deſpair, had been already ſolicited to go over to Charles V. It would have been great in him to have ſerved with fidelity, and ſuffered with patience. But there is another kind of greatneſs, that of revenge: Charles of Bourbon unfortunately embraced the latter; he quitted France, to ſerve under the Emperor. Few men ever indulged themſelves more in this cruel pleaſure of revenge.

The Conſtable is immediately created generaliſſimo of the Emperor's armies, and marches into the duchy of Milan, which the French had again invaded under Admiral Bonnivet, his greateſt enemy. A general thoroughly acquainted with the French troops, with their ſtrong as well as weak ſide, muſt have been of great advantage to Charles: but there were other circumſtances ſtill more in his favour; almoſt all the princes of Italy were in his intereſt; the people hated the French government; in ſhort, he had the beſt generals in Europe, the Marquis of Peſcara, Lannoy, John of Medicis, names ſtill celebrated in our days.

Admiral Bonnivet was not to be compared to thoſe generals; and even if he had ſurpaſſed them

in abilities, his troops were greatly inferior to theirs, both in number and goodneſs, and, moreover, they were ill paid. He was obliged to give way; and in his retreat the Imperialiſts attacked him at Biagraſſe. Here the French were routed, and the famous Bayard, who never commanded in chief, but who richly deſerved the title of *the undaunted and unblemiſhed chevalier*, was mortally wounded. Few readers are ignorant, that Charles of Bourbon ſeeing him in this plight, told him how greatly he lamented his fate; and that the Chevalier made anſwer, as he was dying, "It is not me you ſhould lament, but "yourſelf, who are fighting againſt your King and "country."

The defection of this prince was very near being the ruin of the kingdom. He had ſome controvertible pretenſions to Provence, which he could now aſſert by the ſword, inſtead of thoſe well-founded rights which he had loſt at law. Charles V. had promiſed him the ancient kingdom of Arles, and Provence was to conſtitute the principal part of it. King Henry VIII. allowed him 100,000 crowns *per* month this year *, towards the expences of the war. He had juſt taken Toulon, and was now laying ſiege to Marſeilles. Francis I. had doubtleſs reaſon to repent his conduct; yet things were not deſperate; he had ſtill a fine army. He flew to the relief of Marſeilles, and having reſcued Provence, he marched once more into the Milaneſe. At that time Bourbon was on his return to Germany to recruit his army; and in the mean while Francis I. thought himſelf maſter of Italy.

* 1524.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Francis I. *taken prisoner. Rome plundered. Soliman repulsed. Principalities bestowed. Conquest of Tunis. Question whether Charles* V. *aimed at universal monarchy? Soliman acknowledged King of Persia in Babylon.*

WE are now come to one of the most memorable examples of the caprice of *fortune*; a word that means nothing more than a necessary concatenation of the various events of the universe. On one side, Charles V. is busied in Spain about settling ranks and titles; on the other, Francis I. already celebrated throughout Europe for the victory of Marignan, renowned for valour as much as the Chevalier Bayard, and attended by the gallant nobility of his kingdom, with a numerous army, is in the heart of the Milanese. Pope Clement VII. having reason to be afraid of the Emperor, openly espouses the cause of France. The best general of those days, John de Medicis, fights for him at the head of a chosen band. Yet he is defeated before Pavia; and, notwithstanding his gallant feats, sufficient indeed to immortalize his name, he is made prisoner*, with the principal nobility of France. It was his fate to be taken by the only French officer that followed the Duke of Bourbon; so that a man who at Paris had been condemned to die, was now become master of his sovereign's life. This gentleman's name was *Pomperan*: he had at the same time the glory to preserve the King from being killed, and to take him prisoner. It is certain, that this same day the Duke of Bourbon, one of the principal instruments of Charles's victory,

* Feb. 24. 1525.

came

came to ſee him, and triumphed at his misfortune. This interview was not the moſt fatal circumſtance of that day to Francis I. Never was there a truer letter than that which he wrote to his mother; *Madam, all is loſt but my honour.* The frontiers left naked, the exchequer empty, a conſternation ſpread through the different orders of the kingdom, diſunion in the council of the Queen-regent, the King of England Henry VIII. threatening to penetrate into France, and to revive the times of Edward III. and Henry V.; all theſe circumſtances ſeemed to portend inevitable ruin to the kingdom.

Charles V. had not as yet drawn his ſword, when he had not only a king, but a hero, his priſoner at Madrid. He ſeems to have neglected, on this occaſion, to improve his good fortune: for inſtead of marching into France, to reap the benefit of the victory obtained by his generals in Italy, he loſes his time in Spain; inſtead of ſeizing at leaſt on the Milaneſe for himſelf, he thinks proper to ſell the inveſtiture thereof to Francis Sforza, that he may not give too much umbrage to Italy. Henry VIII. inſtead of joining with him to diſmember France, grows jealous of his greatneſs, and enters into a treaty with the regent. Upon the whole, the captivity of Francis I. which ought naturally to have been followed by extraordinary revolutions, came to nothing more than this: the King was ranſomed, contumelious language enſued; Charles and Francis gave each other the lie; a public challenge was ſent, but not accepted; ſo that the terror of thoſe great events ended in ridicule, whereby the two chief perſonages of Chriſtendom greatly demeaned themſelves.

True it is, that, by the fatal treaty of Madrid, the captive king yielded up Burgundy. But he ſoon found himſelf ſtrong enough to ſet aſide this part of the treaty. He ceaſed to be lord paramount of Flanders

Flanders and Artois * ; but in this he lost no more than mere empty homage. His two sons were hostages in his stead ; but he paid their ransom. This ransom indeed was no less a sum than two millions of crowns ; a heavy burden, without doubt, to France. When we come to consider what sums were expended in consequence of the captivity of Francis I. of King John, and of St Lewis ; and how greatly France was exhausted by the prodigality of the Duke of Anjou, brother to Charles V. as well as by the wars against the English ; we cannot but be surprised, that Francis I. should find such resources. These were owing to the successive acquisitions of Dauphiné, Provence, and Britany, to the union of Burgundy, and to the increase of commerce. This is what repaired a series of disasters, and supported France against the fortunate Charles V.

The same good fortune which had delivered a king into that prince's hands, made Pope Clement VII. a year afterwards his prisoner, without any forethought, or act of his own. The Pope, the King of England, and one half of Italy, apprehensive of his great power, had entered into a league against him. That same Duke of Bourbon proved as fatal to Clement VII. as to Francis I. He commanded, on the frontiers of the Milanese, an army of Spaniards, Italians, and Germans, who had been victorious indeed, but were very ill paid, and in want of every thing. He proposes to his troops to go and plunder Rome, as an equivalent for their pay : An expedition not unlike those in former days of the Heruli and the Goths. They marched away to Rome directly, notwithstanding the truce which had been signed betwixt the Pope and the viceroy of Naples. They scaled the town ; † Bourbon is killed in mounting the wall ; but

* 1526. † 1527.

Rome

Rome is taken, delivered up to the ſoldiers, and plundered; the Pope retires to the caſtle of St Angelo, where he is made priſoner.

The ſacking of Rome, and the captivity of the Pope, no more contributed to render Charles V. abſolute maſter of Italy, than the taking of Francis I. priſoner opened a paſſage for him into France. Therefore the notion of univerſal monarchy attributed to Charles V. is as falſe and chimerical as that which was afterwards imputed to Lewis XIV. Inſtead of keeping poſſeſſion of Rome, or of ſubduing all Italy, he ſets the Pope at liberty for 400,000 crowns *, of which he never received more than 100,000; as he afterwards ſet the two ſons of Francis I. at liberty for two millions of crowns.

Many are ſurpriſed, that an Emperor, who was ſovereign of Spain, of all the Netherlands, of Naples, Sicily, and Lombardy, who was already poſſeſſed of Mexico, and whoſe ſubjects were, at that very time, reducing Peru to his obedience, reaped ſo little advantage from his ſucceſſes. But the firſt treaſures ſent to him from Mexico, ſunk to the bottom of the ſea; and he received no regular taxes from America, like his ſon Philip II. The troubles excited in Germany by the Lutheran diſputes, gave him great uneaſineſs: the motions of the Turks in Hungary alarmed him ſtill more. He had Soliman and Francis I. to deal with at the ſame time; the princes of Germany to overawe; the Italian ſtates, and eſpecially the Venetians, to manage; and the wavering temper of Henry VIII. to fix. He acted the principal character on the ſtage of Europe; but he was always at a vaſt diſtance from univerſal monarchy.

His generals found it even difficult to drive the French out of Italy, who had penetrated into the

* 1528.

kingdom

kingdom of Naples in 1528. The system of an equilibrium of power was, at this very period, established in Europe; for immediately after the taking of Francis I. England and the Italian states entered into a league with France, to balance the power of the Emperor. They formed also an alliance of the same kind, when the Pope was taken prisoner.

Peace was concluded at Cambray *, upon the plan of the treaty of Madrid, by which Francis I. recovered his liberty. It was at this peace that Charles restored the two princes-royal of France, and gave up his pretensions to Burgundy for two millions of crowns.

Charles then sets out from Spain, to receive the Imperial diadem from the hands of the Pope, and to kiss the toe of the very person whom he had detained in captivity. He disposes of all Lombardy, like an absolute sovereign. He grants to Francis Sforza the investiture of the Milanese; and to Alexander of Medicis that of Tuscany †: he names a Duke of Mantua; he makes the Pope restore ‡ Modena and Regio to the Duke of Ferrara: But all this he does for money; and without reserving any other right to himself than that of lord paramount.

The obeisance paid him by such a number of princes, was a scene of pomp and magnificence. But it was solid greatness in him, to drive Soliman out of Hungary, at the head of 100,000 men, assisted by his brother Ferdinand, and especially by the Protestant princes of Germany, who signalized themselves in the defence of the common cause. This was the commencement of the active part of his life, and of his personal grandeur. Here we see him busied, at the same time, in fighting against the Turks, in keeping the French on the other side of the Alps, and in summoning a general council, till he returns with the utmost expedition to Spain

* 1529. † 1529. ‡ 1530.

in

in order to wage war in Africa *. He lands before Tunis, obtains a victory over the uſurper of that kingdom; appoints a king, tributary to Spain; ſets at liberty 18,000 Chriſtian ſlaves, carries them back with him in triumph to Europe; and enables them, by his generous donations, to return to their reſpective countries, where they extol their great benefactor to the ſkies. The reſt of the Chriſtian princes made no ſort of figure in compariſon to him: the ſplendor of his name eclipſed all other glory.

It was his good fortune, that Soliman, an enemy more formidable than Francis I. was at that time employed againſt the Perſians †. Soliman had taken Tauris; from thence directing his march towards the ancient Aſſyria, he completed the conqueſt of Bagdat, the modern Babylon, after having made himſelf maſter of Meſopotamia, now called *Diarbek*, and of Curdiſtan, the ancient Suſiana. In a word, he was proclaimed and inaugurated King of Perſia by the Caliph of Bagdat. The Perſian caliphs for a long while had no other honour than that of preſenting the Sultan's turbant, and of girding the ſabre round him who had moſt power. Mahmoud, Genzis, Tamerlane, Iſmael Sophi, had accuſtomed the Perſians to change maſters. Soliman, after having diſpoſſeſſed Tamas, ſon of Iſmael, of one half of Perſia ‡, returned in triumph to Conſtantinople. But his generals loſt part of their maſter's conqueſts in Perſia. Thus the whole globe was balanced, the ſeveral great ſtates being a check to each other; as, Perſia to Turky; Turky to Germany and Italy; Germany and Spain to France; and if there had been any other nations more to the weſt, Spain and France would have had new enemies.

Europe had experienced no violent revolutions

* 1535. † 1534. ‡ 1535.

ſince

since the ruin of the Roman empire; and no emperor since Charlemain had made so great a figure as Charles V. The former has the chief rank in history as a conqueror and founder; the latter is possessed of equal power, but acts a character far more difficult. Charlemain, with numerous armies trained up and disciplined by Pepin and Charles Martel, subdued with ease the effeminate Lombards and the barbarous Saxons. Charles V. was obliged to be constantly upon his guard against France, against the Turkish empire, and against one half of Germany.

England, separated, as it were, from the rest of the world in the eighth century, is, in the sixteenth, grown a potent and respectable kingdom. But what renders the situation of Charles V. greatly superior to that of Charlemain, is, that his dominions in Europe are very near as extensive as Charlemain's, but more populous, more flourishing, and abounding with eminent men. There was not one great trading town at the beginning of the restoration of the empire. Not one name, except the sovereign's, has been consecrated to posterity. The single province of Flanders, in the sixteenth century, is of more value than the whole empire in the ninth. Italy, at the time of Paul III. compared to Italy under Adrian I. and Leo III. is the same as modern architecture, compared to Gothic. I do not speak here of the polite arts, by which this age rivalled that of Augustus, or of the good fortune of Charles V. in reckoning such a number of great geniuses for his subjects. I am treating only of public affairs, and giving a general idea of the universe.

CHAP. V.

Conduct of Francis I. *Interview betwixt him and Charles* V.
Their quarrels, which produced another war. Alliance between the King of France and Sultan Soliman. Death of Francis I.

THAT Francis I. upon seeing his rival dispose of kingdoms, should attempt to recover the Milanese, which he had renounced by treaties; that he should call to his assistance that very Soliman, and those very Turks who had been repulsed by Charles V.; all these may be political steps, but great success alone could render them glorious.

This prince might have given up his pretensions to the Milanese, that endless source of war, that tomb of the French nation; as Charles had relinquished his rights to Burgundy, which were founded on the treaty of Madrid: he would have been happy in the enjoyment of peace; he would have polished and improved his kingdom much more than he did at the latter end of his reign; in short, he would have had an opportunity of displaying all his royal virtues. He was a great prince, as an encourager of the arts: but his fatal passion for the dukedom of Milan, his eagerness to be a vassal of the empire in spite of the Emperor, sullied all his glory. Obliged soon after to sue for the assistance of Barbarossa, he was reproached by that corsair with not having acted up to his engagement, while he was treated as a renegado and a perjured prince by the diet of the empire.

How fatal a contrast! to burn the Lutherans at Paris, among whom were some Germans, by a slow fire; and at the same time to enter into alliance with the Lutheran princes of the empire, to whom he

he is obliged to apologize for this severity, and even to affirm, that there had been no Germans among the sufferers. How can historians be so mean as to approve of this punishment, and attribute it to the *pious zeal* of a voluptuous prince, who had not the least shadow of that piety with which they flatter him? If they call this a religious act, it is evidently contradicted by that prodigious number of Catholic slaves whom his treaty with Soliman consigned to Barbarossa's chains on the coast of Italy. If this be a politic action, we must approve of the persecutions of the Pagans, who sacrificed such a number of Christians. Charles V. put not one Lutheran to death: he had set 18,000 captive slaves at liberty, instead of delivering them up to the Turks.

Francis I. in his fatal expedition against Milan, must pass through Piedmont, and the Duke of Savoy refuses to grant him a passage. The King therefore attacks the Duke of Savoy, while the Emperor is on his triumphant return from Tunis. Savoy * was wasted by fire and sword for another reason, because the mother of Francis I. was of that family. Pretensions to some part of that territory had been long a bone of contention. The wars for the duchy of Milan had been also owing to the marriage of Lewis XII.'s grandmother. There is not one hereditary state in Europe where marriages have not been productive of war. The public law, by this means, is become one of the chief scourges of nations; since the several clauses of marriage-contracts and treaties have always been explained by the sword. The Duke's territories were ravaged upon this invasion of Francis I. an invasion which set Geneva entirely at liberty, and in some measure rendered it the capital of the reformed religion. Thus this very king, who at Pa-

* 1534.

ris was practising the most horrid cruelties against the religious innovators, who was making processions to expiate their errors, who used to say, that *he would not spare even his own children, if they were guilty*, every where else proved the chief support of what he constantly endeavoured to exterminate in his own dominions.

It is great injustice in Father Daniel to assert, that the city of Geneva at that time completed its rebellion against the Duke of Savoy. This duke was not its sovereign. It was a free Imperial city; which, like Cologne, and some other places, shared the government with its bishop. The bishop had resigned his rights to the Duke of Savoy; and those rights, which were unsettled, had been referred to arbitration within those twelve years. He should rather have observed, that Geneva was at that time a poor little town; and that, since it had acquired its liberty, it was become twice more populous, more industrious, and opulent.

But what advantage does Francis I. derive from such a number of enterprises? Charles V. sets out from Rome, obliges the French to repass the Alps, enters Provence with 50,000 men, advances as far as Marseilles *, and lays siege to Arles; while another army ravages Champagne and Picardy. Thus the fruit of this new expedition against Italy was only exposing France to ruin.

Provence and Dauphiné were saved entirely by the prudent conduct of the Marshal de Montmorenci, as in our days they have been preserved by another marshal of France. One may reap, I think, a considerable benefit from history, by comparing times and events. It is a pleasure worthy a good citizen, to inquire into the resources by which two victorious armies have been forced to retire from the same territory, and on the same occasions.

* 1536.

Amidst

Amidſt the idle amuſements of great cities, there are few that know what pains it coſts a general to lay up proviſions in a country that hardly furniſhes enough for its inhabitants; to find money to pay the troops; to furniſh them with neceſſaries upon his own credit; to guard the banks of rivers; and to ſeize on the advantageous poſts that had been occupied by the enemy. Details of this kind do not belong to our plan. There is no neceſſity to examine them, except during the time of action. They are, as it were, the materials of a building; of which no more notice is taken when the houſe is finiſhed.

But the ſtrongeſt characteriſtic of Charles V. and Francis I. in their ſeveral diſputes, by which Europe was ſo greatly convulſed, was a ſingular compoſition of frankneſs and cunning, of choler and reconcilement, of violent outrages and quick forgiveneſs, of ſubtle artifice and generous confidence.

Who could have ever imagined, that Charles and Francis ſhould have a familiar interview with each other, like two neighbouring gentlemen, after Francis's confinement at Madrid, after giving each other the lie, after ſending a challenge, after propoſing a ſingle combat before the Pope in full conſiſtory, after the alliance between the King of France and Soliman; in a word, after the Emperor had been charged, as publicly as unjuſtly, with having cauſed the firſt dauphin to be poiſoned, and at a time when the frontiers were ſtill reeking with human blood?

And yet thoſe two great rivals ſaw each other in Aiguemort road. The Pope had contrived this interview after a truce: Charles V. went on ſhore, and made the firſt viſit, venturing himſelf into the hands of his enemy. This was the ſpirit of the times. Charles always diſtruſted the promiſes of

the monarch, while he repoſed an entire confidence in the gentleman.

The Duke of Savoy was a long while the victim of this interview. Theſe two monarchs, notwithſtanding that they ſaw and converſed with each other ſo very familiarly, were ſtill concerting meaſures of mutual annoyance; in conſequence whereof, they ſtill kept poſſeſſion of the ſtrong towns belonging to the Duke, the King of France to open a paſſage, whenever he ſhould have occaſion, into the Milaneſe, and the Emperor to hinder him.

After this interview at Aiguemort, Charles made a tour to Paris, which is far more ſurpriſing than that of the Emperors Sigiſmund and Charles IV.

Upon his return to Spain, he hears that the city of Gaunt had revolted in Flanders. To know how far that city had a right to maintain, and how far ſhe abuſed her privileges, is a problem which it belongs to a ſuperior force alone to determine. Charles V. impatient to reduce and to chaſtiſe the mutinous city, deſires the King to grant him a paſſage: the King ſends the Dauphin and the Duke of Orleans before him as far as Bayonne, and goes to meet him himſelf in perſon at Chatelleraut.

The Emperor was fond of travelling, of being ſeen by the different nations of Europe, and of diſplaying his magnificence. This expedition was one continued ſeries of ſports and feſtivals, while the whole end of it was to go and hang a few wretched citizens. He might eaſily have ſpared himſelf all that trouble, by ſending a few troops to the governeſs of the Netherlands. It is even a ſubject of ſurpriſe, that he did not leave a ſufficient force in Flanders to quell the inſurrection of the town of Gaunt; but it was the cuſtom at that time for princes to diſband their troops, after concluding a truce or a peace.

The intention of Francis I. in granting the Emperor

peror a paſſage through his dominions, and giving him ſo kind and magnificent a reception, was to obtain of him at length a promiſe of the inveſtiture of the Milaneſe. It was this idle notion that induced him to refuſe the homage offered by the inhabitants of Gaunt. But he got neither Gaunt nor Milan.

It is pretended, that the Conſtable de Montmorenci was diſgraced, for having counſelled the King to content himſelf with the verbal promiſe of Charles V. I relate this trivial circumſtance, becauſe if true, it gives a further inſight into human nature. A perſon who ought only to blame himſelf for following bad advice, is frequently unreaſonable enough to puniſh the adviſer. But Francis had hardly reaſon to be ſorry for taking the Emperor's word; a promiſe in writing would not have been more binding.

Francis I. had ſigned a promiſe to deliver up Burgundy, yet he took care not to keep his word. A great province is ſeldom ceded to an enemy, without being compelled by force of arms. The Emperor afterwards publicly acknowledged, that he had promiſed the dukedom of Milan to one of the King's ſons; but he pretended it was on condition that Francis I. would evacuate Turin, which he ſtill kept in his poſſeſſion.

After all, the generous reception which the King gave to the Emperor in France, the many ſumptuous entertainments, and mutual teſtimonies of confidence and friendſhip, produced no other effect than freſh broils and quarrels.

While Soliman continues to ravage Hungary; while Charles, to attain the ſummit of his glory, would fain conquer Algiers, as he had done Tunis, but proves unſucceſsful in the attempt; Francis I. enters into a cloſer alliance with Soliman. He ſends two miniſters to the Porte by the way of Venice,

Venice, who are assassinated on the road, by order of the Marquis *del Vasto*, governor of the Milanese, under pretence that they are both of them born subjects of the Emperor. The last Duke of Milan, Francis Sforza, had some years before beheaded another of the King's ministers *. How are these violations of the law of nations to be reconciled with the generosity, upon which the Emperor's, as well as the King's officers, piqued themselves at that time? The war is renewed with greater fury than ever towards Piedmont, the Pyrenees, and in Picardy. Then it was that the King's galleys joined those commanded by Cheredin, sirnamed *Barbarossa*, admiral to the Sultan, and viceroy of Algiers †. The flower-de-luces, and the crescent, appear before Nice. The combined fleet of French and Turks under the Count of Anguien, of the branch of Bourbon, and the Turkish admiral, miscarry in their attempt to take this town; and Barbarossa returns with the Turkish fleet to Toulon, as soon as the famous Andrew Doria appears before Nice with his galleys.

This same Doria may be ranked the very foremost of all those who contributed to the successes of Charles V. He had had the glory of beating that prince's galleys before Naples, when he was admiral to Francis I. and while Genoa his country was still subject to the dominion of France. He thought himself afterwards obliged, like the Constable of Bourbon, by court-intrigues, to enter into the Emperor's service. He defeated the Turkish fleets several times; but what did him the greatest honour, was his restoring the liberty of his country, of which Charles V. had granted him the sovereignty. He preferred the title of *restorer* to that of *master*. He settled the government on its present footing, and lived till the age of ninety-four, the most re-

* 1541. † 1543.

spected

ſpected of any man in Europe. Genoa erected a ſtatue to him as to the deliverer of his country.

In the mean time the Count d' Anguien wipes off the diſgrace of Nice by the victory which he obtains at Cerizoles in Piedmont over the Marquis *del Vaſto*. Never was victory more complete. But what advantage did France derive from that glorious day? None at all. It was the fate of the French to obtain fruitleſs victories in Italy. Of this the battles of Agnadel, Fornova, Ravenna, Marignan, and Cerizoles, are laſting monuments.

By ſome inconceivable fatality, Henry VIII. King of England, concludes an alliance againſt France with that very Emperor whoſe aunt he had ſo ignominiouſly repudiated, and whoſe couſin he had declared a baſtard, in ſhort, with that very Emperor who had obliged Pope Clement VIII. to excommunicate him. Princes forget injuries as eaſily as benefits, when their intereſt is concerned. But one would think, that caprice, rather than intereſt, formed the connection at that time between Henry VIII. and Charles V.

The King of England reckoned to march to Paris with 30,000 men. He laid ſiege to Boulogne by ſea, while Charles V. advanced into Picardy. Where was the favourite balance of Henry VIII.? He wanted only to imbarraſs Francis I. and to hinder him from oppoſing the projected marriage betwixt his ſon Edward and Mary Stuart, who was afterwards Queen of France. Strange pretence for declaring war!

Under theſe new circumſtances of danger, the victory of Cerizoles proved quite uſeleſs to France. The King is obliged to recall great part of that victorious army, to come and defend the northern frontiers of the kingdom.

France was then in greater danger than ever. Charles had reached Soiſſons, while the King of England

England was taking Boulogne; and Paris seemed to be in the utmost consternation. Then it was that the Lutheran religion preserved France, and did her more service than the Turks, on whom the King had so greatly relied. The princes of that persuasion in Germany, jealous of the overgrown power of Charles V. had entered into a confederacy against him, and taken up arms to preserve their liberty. Charles finding himself hard pressed in the empire, at the same time that he was pressing hard upon France, concluded a treaty at Crepi in Valois *, to be at leisure to reduce his subjects in Germany.

By this peace he once more promised the Milanese to the King's son, the Duke of Orleans, who was to be his son-in-law: but fate would not have it, that this province should be subject to a French prince; and the death of the Duke of Orleans saved the Emperor the confusion of another breach of his word.

Not long after that, Francis I. purchased a peace with England for 800,000 crowns. Such were his last exploits; such the fruit of the designs of his whole life upon Naples and Milan. He was in every respect a victim to Charles V.'s good fortune; for he died a few months after Henry VIII. of that distemper, which the discovery of the new world had transplanted into Europe, and which in those days was almost incurable. How strange the chain of sublunary events! A Genoese pilot enriches Spain with a new world. In the isles of those distant climates nature has planted a poison which infects the very source of life; and it is decreed, that a king of France is to die of it. He leaves behind him a legacy of lasting discord, not betwixt France and Germany, but betwixt the house of France and the house of Austria.

* 1544.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Troubles of Germany. Battle of Mulberg. Greatneſs and diſgrace of Charles V. *His abdication.*

THE death of Francis I. did not pave the way for that univerſal monarchy, which Charles V. was ſuppoſed to have had in view: he was ſtill a great way from it. He had not only a formidable enemy in Henry II. ſucceſſor of Francis; but at that very time the princes and cities of the new religion in Germany had entered into a confederacy, and were aſſembling a great army to oppoſe him. It was rather the cauſe of liberty than of Lutheraniſm.

Neither this potent Emperor, nor his brother Ferdinand, King of Hungary and Bohemia, could raiſe ſuch numerous forces among the Germans, as the confederates brought into the field againſt him. In order to be a match for the enemy, Charles was obliged to have recourſe to his Spaniſh forces, and to Pope Paul III. for troops and money.

Nothing could be more complete than his victory of Mulberg. The Elector of Saxony, and the Landgrave of Heſſe, were both taken priſoners; the Lutheran party was in the utmoſt conſternation, and prodigious contributions were impoſed on the vanquiſhed provinces; all this together ſeemed to render him deſpotic in Germany. But the ſame thing happened to him now as after he had taken Francis I. priſoner; he loſt the whole fruit of his victory. This very Paul III. withdrew his troops as ſoon as he ſaw him too powerful. Henry VIII. again ſpirited up the languid remains of the Lutheran party in Germany. And Maurice, the new Elector of Saxony, on whom Charles had beſtowed the duchy

duchy of the vanquiſhed Frederick, ſoon declared againſt him, and put himſelf at the head of the league *.

In ſhort, this Emperor, ſo terrible to Germany, is very near being taken priſoner in company with his brother, by the confederates. He flies in diſorder to the defiles of Inſpruck. At this ſame time Henry II. King of France ſeizes on Metz, Toul, and Verdun; which provinces have ever ſince continued in the poſſeſſion of France, as a price of that liberty which ſhe had ſecured to Germany. We find that at all times the princes of the empire, and even the Lutheran religion, have owed their preſervation to the kings of France. This is what happened again under Ferdinand II. and Ferdinand III.

The poſſeſſor of Mexico is forced to borrow 200,000 crowns of Coſmo Duke of Florence, to try to recover Metz; and having accommodated matters with the Lutherans, in order to be revenged of the King of France, he lays ſiege to this city, at the head of 50,000 men. This is one of the moſt memorable ſieges in hiſtory; it does immortal honour to Francis of Guiſe †, who defended the town ſixty-five days againſt Charles V. and obliged him at length to deſiſt from his undertaking, after he had loſt one third of his army.

The power of Charles V. was at that time no more than a heap of pomp and dignities, environed by precipices. His continual agitation would not permit him to form his vaſt dominions into a regular and robuſt body, every part of which might be of mutual help, and furniſh him with large ſtanding armies. This was the policy of Charlemain: but Charlemain's territories were all compact; the conqueror of the Saxons and Lombards had no Soliman to repulſe, no kings of France to fight againſt,

* 1552. † 1552.

no

no powerful princes of Germany, nor a pope of ſtill greater power to check or to be afraid of.

Charles knew full well what ſort of materials were neceſſary for erecting an edifice of ſuch ſtrength and ſolidity, as the empire of Charlemain. It was requiſite that his ſon Philip ſhould have the Imperial dignity; and then this prince, whom the treaſures of Mexico and Peru rendered more opulent than all the kings of Europe together, might have attained that univerſal monarchy, which is much eaſier imagined than attained.

With this view Charles uſed all his endeavours to engage his brother Ferdinand King of the Romans to reſign the empire to Philip. But this ſhocking propoſal only tended to ſet Philip and Ferdinand ever after at variance.

Tired at length of ſo tumultuous a life, grown old before his time, and undeceived in regard to every thing, becauſe of every thing he had had experience, he renounces his crowns * and the world at the age of fifty-ſix; that is, at a period of life when ambition operates with its whole force in other men, and when ſuch a number of thoſe ſubaltern kings called miniſters do but begin the career of their grandeur.

Before we ſhew what influence Philip II. had over one half of Europe, how powerful England was under Eliſabeth, what became of Italy, in what manner the republic of the United Provinces was eſtabliſhed, and to what a frightful ſituation France was reduced, I muſt give ſome account of the revolutions of religion, becauſe it has interfered in all public tranſactions, either as a cauſe or pretence, ever ſince the time of Charles V.

I ſhall afterwards take a view of the conqueſt of the Spaniards in America, and of the Portugueſe in the Eaſt Indies; conqueſts of an amazing kind, the

* 1556.

whole benefit of which was reaped by Philip II. who became thereby the moſt powerful prince in Chriſtendom.

CHAP. VII.

Of Leo X. and of the church.

WE have now run through this vaſt chaos, in which the Chriſtian ſtates of Europe have been involved ſince the decline of the Roman empire. The political adminiſtration of the church, which ought naturally to have reunited all theſe detached parts, proved unfortunately a freſh ſource of confuſion, unknown till that time in hiſtory. The Roman and Greek churches, inceſſantly at variance, had, by means of their diviſions, thrown open the gates of Conſtantinople to the Turks.

The empire and the prieſthood conſtantly in arms againſt each other, had depopulated Italy, Germany, and almoſt every other country in Europe. The mixture of theſe two jarring powers, was the means to foment eternal broils. The feudal government had made ſovereigns of ſeveral biſhops and monks. The limits of the dioceſes were different from thoſe of the ſtates. The ſame town was reckoned Italian or German from its biſhop, and French from its king. We have ſeen the ſecular juriſdiction every where oppoſing the eccleſiaſtic, except in thoſe dominions which were heretofore and ſtill continue ſubject to the church: we have beheld every ſecular prince endeavouring to render his government independent of the ſee of Rome, though without being able to ſucceed: we have ſeen biſhops ſometimes reſiſting the popes, and ſometimes joining with the ſee of Rome in oppoſition to kings; in a word, the Chriſtian republic of the

the Latin church almoſt generally united in doctrine, and conſtantly divided in every thing elſe.

After the odious but ſucceſsful pontificate of Alexander VI. after the military but ſtill more ſucceſsful reign of Julius II. the popes might be conſidered as the arbiters of Italy, and to have a great influence over the reſt of Europe. Not one Italian power had a greater extent of territory, except the King of Naples, who likewiſe held his kingdom of the holy ſee.

Under ſuch favourable circumſtances, the four and twenty cardinals who at that time compoſed the whole college, choſe John de Medicis *, great-great-grandſon of the illuſtrious Coſmo de Medicis, a plain merchant, and yet father of his country.

John de Medicis had been created Cardinal at fourteen; and now he was made Pope at the age of thirty-ſix, when he took the name of *Leo X.* His family was at that time returned to Tuſcany. Leo had ſoon credit enough to place his brother Peter at the head of the government of Florence. His other brother, Julian the Magnificent, married the Princeſs of Savoy, Ducheſs of Nemours, and became one of the moſt powerful lords in Italy. Thoſe three brothers were diſciples of Angelus Politianus, and Chalcondylas, and proved themſelves deſerving of ſuch maſters. They expreſſed all three a high emulation in the culture of letters and the polite arts; ſo as to deſerve that this ſhould be ſtyled *the Medicean age.* The Pope eſpecially, beſides a moſt delicate taſte, was fond of diſplaying the higheſt magnificence. By his liberality he excited the great geniuſes in all arts, and ſtill more ſo by his winning deportment. His coronation coſt 100,000 crowns. On this occaſion he ordered the Penula of Plautus to be acted. The bright days of the Roman empire ſeemed to be revived. Religion

* 1513.

had nothing auſtere in its appearance; but attracted reſpect by pompous ceremonies: the barbarous ſtyle of the datary was aboliſhed, to make room for the eloquence of the Cardinals Bembo and Sadolet, at that time the Pope's ſecretaries, men who knew how to imitate Cicero's Latinity, and ſeemed likewiſe to adopt his ſceptic principles. The comedies of Arioſto and Machiavel, though not very delicate in regard to modeſty and religion, were frequently acted at this court, in the preſence of the Pope and cardinals, by young perſons of the higheſt rank at Rome. The merit alone of thoſe pieces, great indeed for that age, made an impreſſion on the ſpectators. Whatever might be offenſive to religion, paſſed unobſerved at a court entirely intent on intrigues and pleaſures, and who had no notion that religion could be injured by theſe liberties. And indeed, ſince they neither attacked the doctrine nor the juriſdiction of the church, the court of Rome took no more exceptions againſt them, than the Greeks and ancient Romans againſt the wit and raillery of Ariſtophanes and Plautus.

Even affairs of the higheſt importance, which Leo X. underſtood thoroughly how to manage, never broke in upon his nicer pleaſures. Neither the conſpiracy of two cardinals againſt his life, nor the ſevere puniſhment which he inflicted on thoſe delinquents, made any alteration in the gaiety of his court.

The Cardinals Petrucci and Soli, incenſed at the Pope's having deprived the nephew of Julius II. of the duchy of Urbin, contrived to bribe a ſurgeon who had been employed to cure his Holineſs of a ſecret diſtemper; ſo that the death of Leo X. was to be the ſignal for a revolution in diverſe towns of the eccleſiaſtic ſtate. The conſpiracy was diſcovered; and ſeveral of the moſt guilty loſt their lives *.

* 1517.

The

The two cardinals were put to the torture, and condemned to die. Cardinal Petrucci was ſtrangled in priſon; the other's money ſaved his life.

It is very remarkable, that they were condemned by the ſecular magiſtrates of Rome, and not by their peers. By this proceeding the Pope ſeemed to ſet an example to all ſovereigns, of ſubjecting the clergy to the juriſdiction of the ordinary judges: but the holy ſee never intended to transfer a right to kings, which it aſſumed to itſelf. Whence comes it that the cardinals, who elect the popes, have left them in poſſeſſion of this deſpotic power, while the electors and princes of Germany have ſo greatly reſtrained the authority of the emperors? It is becauſe thoſe princes are poſſeſſed of territories, and the cardinals have only dignities.

This melancholy affair was ſoon ſucceeded by the accuſtomary rejoicings. Leo X. in order the ſooner to cancel the memory of the execution of a cardinal, created thirty new ones, moſtly Italians, whoſe temper was every way conformable to that of their ſovereign. If they had not the ſame taſte and knowledge as the pontiff, at leaſt they imitated him in his pleaſures. Almoſt all the other prelates followed their examples. Spain was at that time the only country remarkable for the exemplary lives of the clergy. This ſtrictneſs of morals had been introduced by Cardinal Ximenes, a man of a ſour diſpoſition, who had no reliſh but for arbitrary power, and who ſtrutted in a Cordelier's habit, when he was regent of Spain; ſaying, that with his cord he knew how to bind the grandees to their duty, and he would cruſh all their pride under his ſandals.

In every other country, the prelates lived like voluptuous princes: ſome of them were poſſeſſed of eight or nine biſhopricks. We are frightened when we hear of the vaſt number of benefices en-

joyed, for inſtance, by a Cardinal of Lorrain, a Cardinal Wolſey, and ſo many others. But this plurality of benefices was attended with no worſe conſequence, than the number of biſhopricks at preſent enjoyed by the electors or prelates of Germany.

The whole torrent of Proteſtant and Catholic writers make loud complaints againſt the looſe morals of thoſe times. They tell us, that the biſhops, the inferior clergy, and the monks, led moſt indolent lives; that nothing was more common, than for prieſts to bring up their children publicly, after the example of Alexander VI. We have ſtill the will of Croui, Biſhop of Cambray in thoſe days; wherein he leaves ſeveral legacies to his children, and reſerves a ſum *for the baſtards which he ſtill hopes that God will be ſo gracious as to give him, in caſe he recovers from this illneſs.* Theſe are the very words of the will. Pope Pius II. had long before obſerved, *that the clergy were forbid to marry for very ſtrong reaſons; but that there were much ſtronger reaſons to allow them to marry.* Proteſtant writers have carefully collected proofs, to ſhew, that, in ſeveral parts of Germany, the people always obliged the ſecular clergy to have concubines, to the end that married women might be leſs expoſed to danger: yet it muſt be allowed, that this was not a ſufficient reaſon to juſtify ſo many civil wars, and that people were not to be killed, becauſe a few prieſts begot children.

But what gave the greateſt ſcandal of all, was the public and private ſale of indulgences, abſolutions, and diſpenſations, of all prices; that apoſtolic revenue, unlimited and uncertain before the time of Pope John XXII. but by him digeſted as a code of the canon law. A ſubdeacon, or a deacon, guilty of murder, was abſolved, with permiſſion to hold three benefices, for about twenty crowns. A biſhop

ſhop or an abbot might aſſaſſinate for about 300 livres. All manner of uncleanneſs, even the moſt ſhocking to nature, had its ſettled price. Beſtiality was valued at 250 livres. Diſpenſations were granted, not only for paſt ſins, but for ſuch as one had a mind to commit. In the archives of Joinville, they found an indulgence granted to the Cardinal of Lorrain, and to twelve of his retinue, whereby the remiſſion of three ſins, whichever they chuſed to nominate, ſhould be anticipated to each of them. Le Laboureur, a diligent writer, relates of the Ducheſs of Burgundy and Auvergne, ſiſter to Charles VIII. that ſhe had the privilege of obtaining abſolution all her life from all her ſins, ſhe and ten of her attendants, upon forty-ſeven feſtivals, without reckoning ſundays.

And yet this ſtrange abuſe ſeems to have been derived from the ancient laws of the ſeveral European nations, thoſe of the Franks, the Saxons, and the Burgundians. The Papal court had not adopted this eſtimate of ſins and diſpenſations, till the times of anarchy, and when the popes durſt no longer reſide at Rome. Never did any council rank the taxation of ſins among the articles of faith.

Among the abuſes of thoſe times, ſome were ſhocking, and others ridiculous. They who ſaid, that the building ought to be repaired, and not pulled down, ſeemed to have given a proper anſwer to the outcries of the angry multitude. The great number of fathers of families, who were obliged to take an infinite deal of pains to make a ſmall proviſion for their wives and children; and the more numerous croud of artificers and huſbandmen, who earned their bread by the ſweat of their brow, with indignation beheld thoſe lazy monks, ſurrounded with the pomp and luxury of ſovereigns. They were told, that the luxury of the monks was the means of circulating their riches among the public;

blic; that the effeminate life of thoſe men, far from diſturbing, rather ſtrengthened the internal ſtate of the church; and even had their abuſes been in a higher degree, ſtill they were leſs dangerous, without doubt, than the horrors of war, and the ſacking of towns. Here we oppoſe the opinion of Machiavel, the oracle of thoſe who are directed by politics only. In his diſcourſes on Livy, he ſays, that *if the Italians in his time were exceſſively wicked, it was all owing to religion and the prieſts.* But it is evident, that he could not mean religious wars, ſince there were none at that time. Theſe words can allude only to the villanous and corrupt court of Alexander VI. and to the ambition of ſeveral of the clergy; which is quite foreign from the articles of faith, from the religious diſputes, from the perſecutions, the rebellions, and the fury of theological averſion, productive of ſo many murders.

Even Venice herſelf, a republic deemed the wiſeſt government in Europe, is ſaid to have deſignedly encouraged the indolence and luxury of her clergy, to the end, that being leſs reſpected, they might not have it in their power to influence the people. There were, however, at this ſame time, in every country, men of ſtrict morals, worthy paſtors, and religious obſervers of vows that frighten human effeminacy. But theſe virtues are buried in obſcurity, while luxury and vice appear in ſplendor.

The magnificence of the voluptuous court of Leo X. muſt have ſtruck the public with amaze: but at the ſame time it was viſible, that this court was poliſhing Europe, and improving every ſocial virtue. Since the perſecution againſt the Huſſites, religion had occaſioned no diſturbance. The inquiſition indeed exerciſed great cruelties againſt the Mahometans and the Jews. But theſe are not univerſal evils, by which nations are ſubverted. Moſt Chriſtians lived happy in their ignorance.

There

There were not ten gentlemen perhaps in Europe that had a Bible: it was not so much as translated into any vulgar language; or at least the translations that had been made in some few countries, were not known.

The superior clergy, entirely intent upon their temporal affairs, knew how to enjoy life, and not to dispute. It may be said, that Leo X. by the encouragement he gave to learning, furnished arms against himself. I have heard an English Nobleman affirm, that he had seen a letter from Cardinal Pool to that Pope, wherein he congratulated him upon his success in the propagation of the sciences; but at the same time reminded him, that it was of dangerous consequence to make mankind too learned. Leo X. had not the least apprehension of the revolution which happened in his time in the Christian world; a revolution owing at first to his magnificence, and to one of the noblest undertakings that can perpetuate the memory of sovereigns.

His predecessor Julius II. under whose reign painting and architecture were so greatly improved, was desirous that Rome should be adorned with a temple, superior to St Sophia's at Constantinople, and, in a word, the most beautiful that ever existed. He had the courage to undertake, what he could never live to see finished. Leo X. was extremely fond of this noble project. But it required a great deal of money, and his magnificence had exhausted his finances. Every Christian ought to have contributed to the erecting of this wonder of the metropolis of Europe. But money for public undertakings is never obtained, except by compulsion or artifice. Therefore Leo X. had recourse, if I may be permitted the expression, to one of St Peter's keys, with which the coffers of good Christians had been sometimes opened, to replenish those of the Pope.

Under

Under the pretence of a war againſt the Turks, he ſet up a ſale, in all parts of Chriſtendom, of what they call *indulgences*, that is, a releaſe from the pains of purgatory, either for yourſelf, or for your friends and relations. A public ſale of this kind ſhews the ſpirit of the times. It created no ſort of ſurpriſe: public offices of indulgences were opened in all parts; and they were farmed or leaſed out like cuſtomhouſe-duties. Moſt of thoſe public offices were kept in alehouſes; by which means, the preacher, the farmer, and the diſtributer of the indulgences, were all gainers. The Pope gave part of the money ariſing from this ſale to his ſiſter; and no body as yet complained. The preachers declared openly from the pulpit, *that even if they were to raviſh the Virgin Mary, they ſhould be forgiven upon purchaſing the indulgences*; and the people liſtened to thoſe words with devotion. But this farm in Germany happening to be given to the Dominicans, the Auguſtinians, who had been long in poſſeſſion of it, grew jealous; and this little claſhing of intereſts between thoſe two orders of friars, in a corner of Saxony, was the ſource of furious diſcord, and of a variety of woes, that have afflicted moſt parts of Europe upwards of 200 years.

CHAP. VIII.

Of Luther and of Zwinglius.

EVERY body knows that this great revolution in the human mind, and in the political ſyſtem of Europe, began with Martin Luther, an Auguſtinian friar, whoſe ſuperiors commiſſioned him to preach againſt a merchandiſe which they had not been permitted to vend themſelves. The quarrel was at firſt betwixt the Auſtin and Black friars.

Had

Had Luther been told at that time, that he ſhould extirpate the Roman religion out of one half of Europe, he never would have believed it. He went farther than he at firſt intended, as it happens in all diſputes, and indeed in moſt affairs.

After railing againſt the indulgences *, he fell to examining the power of him who granted them. Part of the veil was removed: the people being once ſet on, would fain judge of what they had hitherto adored. The ſhocking crimes of Alexander VI. and his family had occaſioned no doubts in regard to the Pope's ſpiritual power: 300,000 pilgrims came to Rome to his jubilee. But the times were changed; things were come to a criſis. Leo's pleaſures paid for Alexander's crimes. People began with calling out for a reform, and ſome concluded with an entire ſeparation. They knew that men in power do not care to reform. It was the authority and the riches of the clergy that they aimed at; it was the yoke of Roman taxes that they wanted to aboliſh. And indeed what did it ſignify to the inhabitants of Stockholm, of Copenhagen, of London, or of Dreſden, whether the Romans took their pleaſure or not? But it ſignified greatly whether they were to pay exorbitant taxes to Rome, and whether the Archbiſhop of Upſal was to be maſter of a whole kingdom. The revenues of the archbiſhoprick of Magdeburg, and of ſuch a number of rich abbeys, were a bait to the ſecular princes. The ſeparation, which enſued, as it were, of itſelf, and for very trivial cauſes, has at length, in ſome meaſure, produced the reformation ſo loudly called for, without anſwering any end. The manners of the court of Rome are become more decent, and the French clergy more learned. It muſt be in general allowed, that the eccleſiaſtics of the church of Rome have been reformed by the

* 1517.

Proteſtants,

Proteſtants, juſt as two rivals become more circumſpect by their jealous vigilance over one another.

To effect this great ſchiſm, there was nothing wanting but a prince to encourage the people. The old Elector of Saxony, Frederick, ſirnamed *the Wiſe*, that very prince, who, after the deceaſe of Maximilian, had the magnanimity to refuſe the Imperial diadem, took Luther under his protection. This revolution in the church began like all thoſe by which the people dethrone their ſovereigns. At firſt they preſent petitions and addreſſes, then they ſet forth grievances, and they conclude with ſubverting the throne. There had been no ſeparation as yet in laughing at indulgences, in inſiſting on the euchariſt's being adminiſtered in both kinds, in aſſerting ſome unintelligible ſtuff about juſtification and free-will, in wanting to diſſolve the abbeys, and in offering to prove, that the ſcripture no where makes expreſs mention of purgatory.

Leo X. who in his own mind had a great contempt for thoſe diſputes *, was obliged, as Pope, to publiſh a bull, ſolemnly anathematizing theſe ſeveral propoſitions. Little did he know that Luther was ſecretly protected in Germany He ſhould, as he was adviſed, have given him a cardinal's hat to make him alter his opinion. The contempt in which they held him, proved fatal to Rome.

Luther no longer kept any meaſure with the Pope. He compoſed his book *of the Babyloniſh captivity*; he exhorted all princes to throw off the Papal yoke; he railed againſt private maſſes; and met with the greater applauſe, as he inveighed againſt the public ſale of them. The Mendicant friars had rendered thoſe maſſes faſhionable in the thirteenth century: the people paid for them, as they ſtill continue to do, when they order them to be celebrated. It is a ſmall ſtipend on which the

* 1520.

poor

poor friars and country-curates subsist. This slender fee, hardly indeed worth envying, had been settled on those who live by the altar and on charity, and was then about two sous, money of that time, in France, and less still in Germany. Transubstantiation was exploded as a word which could neither be found in scripture, nor in the primitive fathers. Luther's adherents pretended, that the doctrine which demolishes the substance of bread and wine, and leaves only their form and appearance, was not generally received in the church till the pontificate of Gregory VII. and that the first who broached and explained this opinion, was Paschasius Ratbertus, a Benedictine monk of the ninth century. They rummaged into the dark archives of antiquity, to find out pretences for separating from the church of Rome, concerning mysteries which weak mortals can never fathom. Luther preserved one part of the mystery, and rejected the other. He acknowledges, that the body of Christ is in the consecrated elements; but it is there, he says, as fire is in a red-hot iron; the fire and the iron subsist together. This manner of being confused with the bread and wine, Osiander distinguished by the name of *impanation*, *invination*, and *consubstantiation*. Luther was content to say, that the body and blood were in, with, and under; *in*, *cum*, *sub*.

The Dominicans, supported by the Pope's nuncios in Germany, caused his books to be burnt. The Pope thundered out a new bull against him. Luther ordered the Pope's bull, and the decretals, to be burnt in the public market-place at Wittemberg. This specimen shews, that he was a bold man; but it shews likewise, * that he must have been at that time very powerful. Part of Germany, tired of the Papal grandeur, were already in the

* 1520.

reformer's intereſt, without giving themſelves much trouble about the ſcholaſtic diſputes.

In the mean while theſe diſputes were increaſing. The queſtion about free-will, that other rock on which human reaſon has ſo often ſplit, proved an endleſs ſource of nonſenſical quarrels, to ſupply the torrent of theological hatred. Luther denied free-will, which his followers however have ſince granted. The univerſities of Lovain and Paris wrote againſt him. The latter ſuſpended for a while her old diſpute, whether there were three Mary Magdalens, or only one, to condemn the opinions of Luther.

Ariſtotle muſt by all means be dragged into their quarrel; for at that time he was ſovereign of the ſchools. Luther having affirmed, that Ariſtotle's doctrine was of no manner of uſe towards underſtanding the ſcripture, the ſacred faculty of Paris treated this aſſertion as erroneous and abſurd. The moſt ſilly propoſitions were intermixed with thoſe of moſt importance; and on both ſides the animoſity was kept up by falſe accuſations, furious invectives, and anathemas.

It is impoſſible to read, without indignation, the manner in which Luther treats all his adverſaries, but eſpecially the Pope. *Little pope, little, little pope, you are an aſs, a lubberly aſs; walk ſoftly, it is ſlippery, you will break your legs, and then people will ſay, What the devil is this? the little aſs of a little pope is lamed. An aſs knows it is an aſs, a ſtone knows it is a ſtone; but theſe little aſſes of popes do not know that they are aſſes.* This low abuſe, which appears ſo ſhockingly contemptible to us, went down well enough in that rude part of the world. Luther, with all this ſcurrility and barbarous ſtyle, triumphed in his own country over the Roman politeneſs.

Capricious fate, which ſports with the affairs of this

this world, decreed, that the King of England, Henry VIII. ſhould be concerned in this diſpute. His father had taken care to have him inſtructed in the vain and fooliſh ſciences of that time.

The ſubtilties of the ſchool had been greatly reliſhed by the young King Henry, a prince of ſtrong paſſions, and a choleric diſpoſition. He wanted to write againſt Luther; but firſt he aſked leave of Leo X. to read the books of that hereſiarch, which were prohibited under pain of excommunication. Leo X. gives him leave. The King writes comments upon St Thomas, and defends the ſeven ſacraments againſt Luther, who at that time admitted three, which were ſoon reduced to two. The book is finiſhed in a hurry, and ſent to Rome. The Pope, in raptures, compares this book, which no body in our time knows any thing of, to the writings of Auſtin and Jerome. He beſtowed the title of *Defender of the faith* on King Henry and his ſucceſſors. And on whom did he beſtow it? On the very perſon, who, a few years after, proved the moſt inveterate enemy of Rome.

In Italy very few eſpouſed Luther's cauſe. That ingenious nation, intent upon intrigues and pleaſures, took no ſhare in theſe troubles. The Spaniards, notwithſtanding their vivacity and wit, kept themſelves quiet. The French, though they have the ſenſibility of thoſe nations, with a ſtronger paſſion for novelty, were nevertheleſs a long while without engaging in the quarrel. The theatre of this intellectual war was confined to the Germans and Swiſs, who were not eſteemed at that time the acuteſt people in the world, and are reckoned very circumſpect. Little did the learned, the polite court of Rome, expect, that thoſe whom ſhe treated as barbarians, ſhould be able, bible and ſword in hand, to ſtrip her of one half of Europe, and to ſhake the other to the loweſt foundations.

It is a very great problem, whether Charles V. at that time Emperor, ought to have embraced or oppoſed the reformation. By throwing off the yoke of Rome, he would have at once taken ample revenge for all the injuries which the Papal tiara had done to the Imperial crown upwards of 400 years; but, on the other hand, he would have been in danger of loſing Italy. He was obliged to keep fair with the Pope, who was to join with him againſt Francis I. Beſides, the inhabitants of his hereditary dominions were all Catholics. He was even charged with having taken a ſecret pleaſure at the riſe of a faction, which would give him an opportunity to raiſe taxes and troops in the empire, and to cruſh the Catholics, as well as the Lutherans, under his abſolute authority. At length his intereſt and his dignity engaged him to declare againſt Luther, though perhaps he was of that reformer's way of thinking in regard to ſome articles, as the Spaniards ſuſpected after his deceaſe.

He ſummoned Luther to come and give an account of his doctrine before the Imperial diet at Worms; that is, to come and declare, whether he maintained thoſe tenets which had been condemned by Rome. Luther appeared with the Emperor's ſafe conduct, wherein he boldly expoſed himſelf to the ſame fate as John Huſs; but this aſſembly being compoſed of princes, he truſted to their honour *. He ſpoke before the Emperor and the diet, and defended his doctrine with great reſolution. It is ſaid, that Charles V. was ſolicited by Alexander, the Pope's nuncio, to order Luther to be ſeized, notwithſtanding his ſafe conduct; as Sigiſmund had delivered up John Huſs without regard to public faith; but that Charles made anſwer, *he did not chuſe to have cauſe to bluſh like Sigiſmund.*

Luther nevertheleſs, though he had the Emperor,

* 1521.

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the King of England, the Pope, and all the biſhops and monks, againſt him, was not at all diſmayed. Concealed in a Saxon fortreſs, he defied the Emperor, excited one half of Germany againſt the Pope, boldly anſwered the King of England, and, finally, he confirmed and extended his infant-church.

Frederick, the old Elector of Saxony, being deſirous of the extirpation of the Romiſh religion, Luther thought it high time at length to proceed to the ſuppreſſion of private maſſes. He ſet about it in ſuch a manner, as, in times of leſs ignorance, would not have met with great applauſe. He pretended, that the devil had appeared to him, and reproached him with ſaying maſs and conſecrating the hoſt. The devil proved to him, he ſaid, that it was idolatry. Luther, in the recital of this pretended apparition, acknowledged, that the devil was in the right, and therefore ought to be believed. The maſs was aboliſhed in the town of Wittemberg, and ſoon after in the reſt of Saxony. The images were broke to pieces; the monks and nuns quitted their cloiſters; and a few years after Luther married a nun, whoſe name was *Katharine Bore*. The clergy of the old communion reproached him with not being able to live without a wife. Luther anſwered them, that they could not live without concubines. Theſe reproaches were very different on both ſides. The Catholic prieſts, when accuſed of incontinency, were forced to acknowledge, that they tranſgreſſed againſt the diſcipline of the univerſal church. Luther and his adherents were changing this diſcipline.

The law of hiſtory obliges me to do juſtice to moſt of thoſe monks who deſerted their conventual life to enter into the ſtate of matrimony. It is true, they reſumed the liberty of which they had made a ſacrifice; and they broke their vows: but

they were far from being libertines, neither could they be charged with diſſolute morals. The ſame impartiality obliges us to acknowledge, that Luther, and the other monks, no more violated their vows, by contracting marriages uſeful to the ſtate, than thoſe who having made a vow of humble poverty, lived nevertheleſs in pomp and opulence.

Among thoſe who declaimed loudly againſt Luther, many, in an ironical ſtrain, took notice, that he who had conſulted the devil to ſuppreſs the maſs, expreſſed his gratitude to that ſame devil, by aboliſhing exorciſms; and that he was willing to break down every fence that had been raiſed againſt the common enemy of mankind. It has been ſince obſerved, where-ever they have left off exorciſing, that there have been no more inſtances of people poſſeſſed by the devil, nor of ſorcerers or witches. The devils were ſaid to be very bad politicians, in taking ſhelter only among the Catholics, who alone had a coercive power over them. And it has been remarked, that there has been a prodigious number of conjurers, and people poſſeſſed by the devil, in the church of Rome, till very lately. But this is too melancholy a ſubject to afford room for merriment. The miſery of ſo many families, and the puniſhment of ſuch a multitude of wretches, is an affair of a moſt ſerious nature; and it is a great bleſſing to mankind, that the courts of juſtice, in countries where any ray of knowledge has pervaded, no longer take cogniſance of people poſſeſſed by the devil, nor of witchcraft. The Reformers removed this ſtumbling-block 200 years before the Catholics. They were charged with ſtriking at the foundations of the Chriſtian religion; they were told, that the caſting out of devils, and witchcraft, are poſitively admitted in ſcripture; that Chriſt caſt out devils, and particularly, that he ſent his apoſtles to caſt them out in his name. To this preſſing objection they

they gave the same answer as all prudent magistrates give in our times, that God heretofore permitted things which he now ceases to permit; that the church stood in need of miracles in its infancy, which it no longer wants, now that it is established.

Switzerland was the first country out of Germany that embraced the new sect, which was called *the primitive church*. Zwinglius, curate of Zurich, carried things farther even than Luther; he allowed of no *impanation*, no *invination*. He did not grant, that God entered into the bread and wine, much less that the entire body and blood of Christ was in each particle and in each drop. He was called in France a *sacramentist*, a name afterwards given to his whole sect.

Zwinglius incurred the censure of the ecclesiastics of his country. The affair was brought before the magistrates; and the senate of Zurich tried the cause, as if it had been about the succession to an inheritance. They proceeded by votes; and the plurality determined for the reformation *. The people were assembled, waiting for the decision of the senate, when the town-clerk comes out, and tells them, that Zwinglius had gained his cause. In a moment they all declared themselves of the religion of the senate. Thus a little Swiss borough passed sentence on Rome. Happy people after all, whose simplicity made them rely on their magistrates, for the decision of what neither themselves, nor the magistrates, nor Zwinglius could thoroughly understand.

Some years after this †, Berne, a place of the same weight in Switzerland as Amsterdam is in the United Provinces, determined this very cause in a more solemn manner. The senate, after a hearing given to both parties, which lasted two months, condemned the Romish religion. The sentence

* 1523. † 1528.

was

was readily assented to by the whole canton; and they erected a column, on which they ingraved, in gold letters, this solemn judgment, which has ever since continued in full force.

The senate of Berne and of Zurich had given a religion to the people; but the people of Basil oblige the senate to receive a religion from them. At that time there were thirteen Swiss cantons. Five of the smallest, and most indigent, having adhered to the church of Rome, began a civil war against the rest. This was the first religious war betwixt the Catholics and the Reformed. The curate Zwinglius * putting himself at the head of the Protestant army, was killed in the engagement. By his own party he was considered as a holy martyr, and by the opposite side as a detestable heretic: the Catholics being victorious, ordered his body to be quartered by the common executioner, and afterwards thrown into the flames. These are only preludes to the frantic barbarities which were afterwards exercised on the account of religion.

This famous reformer Zwinglius, while he established his sect, seemed more zealous for liberty than for religion. He believed, that moral virtue was sufficient for the attainment of future happiness; and that Cato and St Paul, Numa and Abraham, enjoyed the same bliss. His religion was afterwards † called *Calvinism;* a name it took from Calvin, as the new world, discovered by Columbus, was denominated from Americus Vespusius. Thus there started up in a few years three new churches; that of Luther, that of Zwinglius, and that of England, separated from the centre of unity, and under a distinct government of their own. The Gallican church, without parting from the head, was yet considered at Rome as a separate body, in respect to a great many articles, as the superiority of

* 1531. † 1531.

councils,

councils, the Pope's fallibility, the rights of Epiſcopacy, the power of legates, the nomination to benefices, and the taxes demanded by the court of Rome. Thus the great ſociety of Chriſtendom in one reſpect reſembled the profane empires, which in their firſt beginning were poor republics; theſe republics in time grew up to be opulent monarchies; and theſe monarchies loſt ſome provinces, which again became republics.

CHAP. IX.

Progreſs of Lutheraniſm in Sweden, Denmark, and Germany.

DENMARK and Sweden embraced the Lutheran religion. The Swedes, in ſhaking off the yoke of the biſhops of the Roman communion *, were influenced chiefly by motives of revenge. Long oppreſſed by ſome prelates, and eſpecially by the archbiſhops of Upſal, primates of the kingdom, they were ſtill higher provoked at the barbarity committed but three years before †, by the laſt Archbiſhop, whoſe name was *Troll*. This Archbiſhop, miniſter and accomplice of Chriſtiern II. ſirnamed *the Nero of the North*, tyrant of Denmark and Sweden, was a monſter of cruelty, full as deteſtable as Chriſtiern. He had obtained the Pope's bull againſt the ſenate of Stockholm, for oppoſing his depredations, as well as Chriſtiern's uſurpation; but after matters had been accommodated, and the two tyrants, Chriſtiern and the Archbiſhop, had taken the ſacrament to forget all that had paſſed, the King invited two biſhops, the whole ſenate, and ninety-four lords, to ſup with him at his palace. The tables were covered, and mirth and jollity were diffu-

* 1523. † 1520.

ſed

ſed all round, when Chriſtiern and the Archbiſhop got up from table. They returned a moment after, but followed by guards and executioners. The Archbiſhop, with the Pope's bull in hand, cauſed all the company to be butchered. They ripped open the grand prior of St John of Jeruſalem's belly, and plucked out his heart.

This feaſt of the two tyrants concluded with a general maſſacre of all ranks of people, without diſtinction of age or ſex.

The two monſters, who deſerved to ſuffer at leaſt the ſame puniſhment as the grand prior of St John, died in their beds. Chriſtiern, however, was depoſed. The famous Guſtavus Vaſa, as we have related in our account of Sweden, delivered his country of the tyrant; and the four ſtates of the kingdom having decreed to give him the crown *, he ſoon exterminated a religion of which ſuch a handle had been made to perpetrate the moſt horrid crimes.

Lutheraniſm was therefore ſoon eſtabliſhed without any oppoſition in Sweden, and in Denmark, immediately after the tyrant had been expelled both kingdoms.

Luther now beheld himſelf the apoſtle of the North, an honour which he quietly enjoyed. So early as the year 1525, the ſtates of Saxony, Brunſwick, Heſſe-Caſſel, and the cities of Straſburg and Francfort, embraced his doctrine.

It is certain that the church of Rome had need of a reformation. This was allowed even by Pope Adrian, ſucceſſor of Leo X. It is alſo certain, that unleſs there was ſome authority in the Chriſtian world to determine the ſenſe of ſcripture and the dogmas of religion, there would be as many ſects as there are men that know how to read. For the divine legiſlator did not think proper to write any

* 1523.

thing

thing himſelf: his diſciples have wrote but little, and in ſuch a manner that it is ſometimes very difficult to underſtand them by one's ſelf: almoſt every word may be productive of a quarrel.

But the German reformers, who wanted to follow the goſpel literally, exhibited an extraordinary kind of ſpectacle ſome years after. They diſpenſed with a poſitive law, ſuch as ſeemed to be liable to no miſinterpretation, that of having but one wife at a time; a law on which the repoſe of ſtates and families throughout all Chriſtendom is founded.

Philip, Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, the ſecond protector of the Lutheran religion, wanted to marry a young lady, named *Catharine Saal*, in his wife's lifetime. What is more extraordinary, it appears by the original papers relating to this affair, that this prince was actuated partly by ſcruple of conſcience. This indeed is one of the greateſt examples of the weakneſs of human underſtanding. The Landgrave, in other reſpects a man of good ſenſe, ſeemed to believe ſincerely, that, with the permiſſion of Luther and his companions, he might break through a law of his own acknowledging. He therefore repreſented to thoſe heads of his church, that his wife, the Princeſs of Saxony, *was ugly, had bad ſmells about her, and often got drunk.* He then confeſſes very ingenuouſly in his petition, that he has frequently been guilty of fornication, and that his temperament of body lays him under a neceſſity of gratifying his pleaſure: but in what follows he is not ſo ingenuous; for he artfully gives his doctors to underſtand, that unleſs they will grant him the diſpenſation, perhaps he ſhall aſk it of the Pope.

Luther aſſembled a little ſynod at Wittemberg, compoſed of ſix reformers. They were ſenſible that they were going to break through a law acknowledged as ſuch by their whole party. The examples

amples which Chriſtian princes had heretofore given of polygamy, were conſidered by every body as an abuſe. Though the Emperor Valentinian the elder married Juſtina, while his wife Severa was living; though ſeveral of the Kings of the Franks had had two or three wives at a time; the tranſgreſſion of the law was no authority. The ſynod of Wittemberg did not conſider marriage as a ſacrament, but as a civil contract: they ſaid, that the diſcipline of the church admits of a divorce, though the goſpel forbids it: they ſaid again, that the goſpel no where, in expreſs terms, commands monogamy. Be that as it may, they were ſo far ſenſible of the ſcandal it would create, that they concealed it as much as poſſible from the public eye. The permiſſion of polygamy was ſigned; the concubine was married, even with the conſent of the lawful wife; and Luther, without any commiſſion or authority, did what the popes had never dared to do, notwithſtanding their exorbitant power, againſt which he himſelf had ſo highly declaimed. His diſpenſation was kept ſecret: but time brings all things to light. If this precedent has had no conſequence, it is becauſe of the difficulty there is for a man to keep two wives under his roof; their jealouſy would be evermore productive of domeſtic jars, and conſequently muſt make three people unhappy. The law that allows of polygamy in the Eaſt, is, of all others, the leaſt conformed to by private people. They have concubines indeed: but there are not four Turks at Conſtantinople that have more than one wife.

Had the new opinions been productive only of ſuch harmleſs ſcandal, the world would have been ſtill extremely happy. But Germany was doomed to more tragic ſcenes.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Of the Anabaptiſts.

TWO men, whoſe names were *Storck* and *Muncer*, natives of Saxony, laid hold of ſome paſſages of ſcripture, which declare, that without inſpiration one cannot be a diſciple of Chriſt; and therefore they pretended to be inſpired.

Theſe are the firſt enthuſiaſts mentioned in thoſe times *. They condemned infant-baptiſm, and re-baptized thoſe that entered into their communion, becauſe Chriſt was baptized at full age. This is what gave them the name of *Anabaptiſts*. They ſaid, they were inſpired; that they had been ſent to reform the Roman and Lutheran communions, and to put every one to death who would oppoſe their goſpel; grounding themſelves on theſe words of ſcripture, *I am come not to ſend peace, but a ſword.*

Luther had ſucceeded in exciting the princes, the nobility, and magiſtrates, againſt the Pope and the biſhops. Muncer made the peaſants riſe againſt them all. He and his diſciples addreſſed themſelves to the inhabitants of the open country, in Suabia, in Miſnia, in Thuringia, and in Franconia. They developed this dangerous truth, which is implanted in every breaſt, That mankind are all by nature equal, and that if popes uſed to treat princes as their ſubjects, the nobility treated the peaſants as brutes.

We muſt confeſs, that the demands of the Anabaptiſts, digeſted into writing, in the name of the peaſants of Germany, were very juſt †; but it was letting wild bears looſe, to draw up a reaſonable manifeſto in their name. The cruelties heretofore exerciſed by the common people in France and England, at the time of Charles VI. were renewed in

* 1523. † 1523.

Germany, and heightened by the ſpirit of fanaticiſm. While thoſe herds of ſavage brutes were preaching equality and reformation, they ravaged all parts they came to, from Saxony to Lorrain. At length, they met with the fate of all riotous multitudes, that have no ſkilful leader: after having done an infinite deal of miſchief, they were cut in pieces by regular troops. Muncer, who wanted to be a ſecond Mahomet, died by the executioner's hands at Mulhauſen*. Luther, who had had no ſhare in thoſe violences, but was nevertheleſs the firſt cauſe of them, ſince he was the firſt that broke down the barrier of ſubmiſſion; Luther, I ſay, loſt no part of his credit, but ſtill continued to be the prophet of his own country.

CHAP. XI.

The ſubject of Lutheraniſm and Anabaptiſm continued.

IT was no longer poſſible, either for Charles V. or for his brother Ferdinand, to ſtop the progreſs of the reformers. In vain did the diet of Spire† endeavour to moderate the matter, by their articles of pacification. Fourteen cities, and ſeveral princes, proteſted againſt this edict; and from this proteſt, all the enemies of Rome took afterwards the name of *Proteſtants*. Lutherans, Zwinglians, Oecolampadians, Carloſtadians, Calviniſts, Preſbyterians, Puritans, the High and Low church of England, are all comprehended under this name. It is an immenſe republic, compoſed of different factions, all united againſt Rome their common enemy.

The Lutherans preſented their confeſſion of faith

* 1525. † 1529.

at

at Augſburg *. This confeſſion became, as it were, the compaſs by which they have been guided; and one third of Germany have adhered to it. The princes of this perſuaſion were already in league againſt the authority of Charles V. as well as againſt Rome: but there had been no blood as yet ſpilt in the empire, on the account of Luther. The Anabaptiſts were the only people, who, ſtill tranſported by a ſuperſtitious fury, and not in the leaſt deterred by the example of Muncer their teacher, laid Germany waſte, in the name of God †. Fanaticiſm had never yet produced the like degree of frenzy: all thoſe peaſants, who looked upon themſelves as prophets, and who knew no more of ſcripture than that the enemies of the Lord ought to be put to the ſword without mercy, were become the predominant party in Weſtphalia, at that time the centre of ſtupidity. Having taken poſſeſſion of the city of Munſter, and expelled the Biſhop, they wanted, at firſt, to eſtabliſh ſomething like the Jewiſh theocracy, and to be governed by God alone: but Matthew, their chief prophet, being killed, a journeyman-taylor, called *Jack of Leyden*, from his native place in Holland, aſſured them that God had appeared to him, and had appointed him king: he ſaid it, and they believed him.

The ceremony of his coronation was performed with magnificence. There are ſtill ſome medals extant, which he cauſed to be ſtruck on that occaſion; on the reverſe were two ſwords, in the ſame poſition as the Pope's keys. Thus, being monarch and prophet both at the ſame time, he deputed twelve apoſtles, to proclaim his reign through all Lower Germany. As for himſelf, he would have ſeveral wives, after the example of the kings of Iſrael; and he went ſo far as to marry ſeventeen at a time. One of thoſe women happening to ſay ſome-

* 1530. † 1534.

thing againſt his authority, he cut off her head in the preſence of all the reſt; who, whether through fear or fanaticiſm, danced with him around their companion's corpſe, as it lay reeking with blood.

This king and prophet had a virtue not uncommon among banditti and tyrants, which was *valour*: he defended Munſter againſt its biſhop Valdeck, a whole year with the greateſt intrepidity; and during the extremities to which he was reduced by famine *, he refuſed to liſten to any terms of accommodation. At length he was taken with his ſword in his hand, by the treachery of his own people. Captivity did not pull down his undaunted pride. Upon the Biſhop's aſking him how he had dared to make himſelf king? the priſoner aſked him in his turn, what right a biſhop had to be temporal lord? I was elected, ſaid the prelate, by my chapter; and I by the Almighty himſelf, replied Jack of Leyden. After he had been carried about for a ſhew, from town to town, as they would ſhew a monſter, the Biſhop ordered him to be put to death with red hot pincers. The enthuſiaſm of the Anabaptiſts did not end with the puniſhment inflicted on the king and his companions: their brethren in the Netherlands were very near ſurpriſing the city of Amſterdam; but the plot was diſcovered, and as many of the conſpirators as could be ſeized, were put to death. This ſect ſubſiſts to this very day; but entirely different from what it was originally. The ſucceſſors of thoſe bloody fanatics are the moſt peaceable ſet of people in the world; entirely intent upon their trade and manufactures; extremely induſtrious and charitable. There is no inſtance in hiſtory of ſo great a change; but as they make no figure at preſent in the world, the public do not trouble their heads to inquire whether they are changed or not, whether they are wicked or honeſt men.

* 1535.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Of Geneva and Calvin.

WHILE the Anabaptists were rendering themselves so odious to all Europe, the Protestants merited the public respect, by the manner in which the reformation was established in several places. The magistrates of Geneva ordered public disputations to be held the whole month of June, to which both Catholics and Protestants were invited * from all countries. There were four secretaries to take down in writing every material argument that was urged on either side of the question: afterwards the common council of the town spent two months in examining into the merits of the cause. It was very near in this same manner that they had proceeded at Zurich and Berne, but not so juridically, and with less deliberation and ceremony. At length the council condemned the Romish religion; and there is still to be seen at the town-house this inscription ingraved on a brazen table: *In remembrance of the divine goodness, by which he hath enabled us to shake off the yoke of Antichrist, to abolish superstition, and to recover our liberty.*

Accordingly the inhabitants of Geneva recovered their real liberty. The Bishop, who contested the sovereignty of Geneva with the Duke of Savoy and the people, after the example of such a number of German prelates, was obliged to run away, and to leave the citizens in possession of the government. There had been two parties in the town for some time, the Protestants, and the Roman Catholics. The Protestants were called *Egnots*, from the word *Eidgnossen*, allied by oath. The Egnots having ob-

* 1535.

tained the ſuperiority, drew part of the oppoſite faction over to their ſide, and expelled the reſt. Hence it is that the French Proteſtants had the name of *Egnots* or *Huguenots*, a term for which ſeveral idle etymologies have been ſince invented by French writers.

This religion of Geneva was not abſolutely the ſame as that of the Swiſs: but the difference is inconſiderable; and it never altered their communion. The famous Calvin, whom we look upon as the apoſtle of Geneva, had no ſhare in this change: he retired ſome time after to this town; but was ſoon expelled, his doctrine not being in every reſpect conformable to the eſtabliſhed religion; he came back again, and became Pope of the Proteſtant party.

This reformer, whoſe name was properly *Chauvin*, was born at Noyon in 1509. He underſtood Latin, Greek, and the bad philoſophy of his own time. He wrote better, and was a worſe ſpeaker than Luther; they were both laborious and auſtere, but withal inflexible and violent: they had both a ſtrong deſire to diſtinguiſh themſelves, and to attain that abſolute power over conſciences, which is ſo flattering to human pride, and transforms a theologian into a kind of conqueror.

The vulgar ſort of Catholics, who know in general that Luther, Zwinglius, and Calvin were married, and that Luther was obliged to let the Landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel have two wives, are apt to imagine that thoſe founders of the reformed religion inſinuated themſelves into the people's favour by flattery and deceit, and that they eaſed mankind of a heavy yoke, to ſubſtitute a very light one in its ſtead: but it is quite the reverſe. They were men of forbidding addreſs, and moroſe in their converſation. If they condemned the celibacy of the clergy, if they ſet open the doors of religious houſes, it was to change human ſociety into monaſteries.

Plays

Plays and public ſhews were forbid among the reformed. Geneva upwards of 200 years has tolerated no inſtrumental muſic. They put down auricular confeſſion, but obliged the people to confeſs their ſins in public. In Swiſſerland, Scotland, and Geneva, public confeſſion and public penance have always gone hand in hand. The method to have many followers, at leaſt now-a-days, is not by propoſing a plain eaſy way to heaven; he who lays down the moſt rigid rules, will have the moſt numerous audience. They deprived man of free-will, and the multitude ran after them. Neither Luther, nor Calvin, nor any of the reſt, underſtood the matter of the euchariſt. One, as I have already mentioned, ſaw God in the bread and wine, juſt like the fire in red hot iron; the other like a dove, in which reſided the Holy Ghoſt. Calvin quarrelled at firſt with the people of Geneva who received the communion in leavened bread; he was for having it unleavened. He retired from thence to Straſburg; for he could not go back to France, where the fires were already lighted, and where Francis I. ſuffered the Proteſtants of his own kingdom to be burnt, while he concluded alliances with thoſe of Germany. Having married the widow of an Anabaptiſt at Straſburg, he returned at length to Geneva, and worked himſelf into as high a degree of credit, as Luther had acquired in Saxony.

He ſettled the doctrine and diſcipline of thoſe we call *Calviniſts* in Holland, Swiſſerland, and England, a ſect that has divided France for ſuch a number of years. It was he that eſtabliſhed ſynods, conſiſtories, and deacons, and that regulated the form of prayer and public preaching: he even inſtituted a conſiſtorial juriſdiction, with the right of excommunication.

Calvin's religion is agreeable to republican principles; and yet he himſelf had the ſpirit of a tyrant.

This

This appears by the perſecution he raiſed againſt Caſtalio, a man of greater learning than himſelf, whom he cauſed to be expelled from Geneva through jealouſy; and by the cruel death which at his inſtigation was inflicted many years afterwards on the unfortunate Michael Servetus.

CHAP. XIII.

Of Calvin and Servetus.

MICHAEL SERVETUS of Villanueva in Arragon, was a learned phyſician, who deſerved the public reſpect and applauſe, for having long before Hervey diſcovered the circulation of the blood: but he neglected an uſeful profeſſion for dangerous ſtudies. He took it into his head to write about the prefiguration of Chriſt in the verb, the hypoſtaſtic union, the divine viſion, the ſubſtance of angels, and the ſuperior manducation: particularly he adopted the ancient dogmas of Euſebius and Arius; which having been predominant in the Eaſt, were embraced in the ſixteenth century by Lelio Socini, and afterwards by great numbers in Poland, England, and Holland.

He was ſo frank and open, that from Vienne in Dauphiné, where he reſided ſome time, he wrote to Calvin concerning the Trinity. At firſt they diſputed by letters; from diſputing Calvin proceeded to perſonal abuſe, and from perſonal abuſe to theological hatred, of all others the moſt implacable. Servetus was printing a work of his own in private; Calvin having by ſome treachery or other procured the ſheets as they came from the preſs, ſent them to Lyons, together with Servetus's letters; an action alone ſufficient to ſtigmatize him for ever; for the laws of ſociety are ſurely more ſacred than the injunctions

injunctions of all the ſynods in the world. He employed one of his emiſſaries to accuſe Servetus. Strange conduct for an apoſtle! Servetus, ſenſible of the ſeverity of the laws of France againſt reformers, ſaved himſelf by flight, while they were carrying on the proſecution againſt him. Unfortunately he paſſed through Geneva; Calvin appriſed of it, informs againſt him, and gets him ſeized. But as at Geneva there is a law, which ought to be imitated in all governments whatever, that the accuſer ſhall be confined as well as the accuſed, Calvin made one of his diſciples, who was at the ſame time his domeſtic, act the informer.

When his enemy was in jail, he went and inſulted him in the moſt contumelious language, ſuch as is generally uſed by cowards, after they have got the upper hand. At length, by ſoliciting the judges, by uſing the credit of thoſe who were under his direction, by declaring loudly, and by making others declare, that God demanded the execution of Michael Servetus, he cauſed him to be burnt alive, and triumphed at his puniſhment, he who, if he had ſet foot in France, would have been burnt himſelf, he who had raiſed ſo loud an outcry againſt perſecuions.

But what increaſes our indignation and pity, is, that Servetus, in the works which he publiſhed himſelf, acknowledges in plain terms the eternal divinity of Chriſt: Calvin, to deſtroy this unfortunate man, produced ſome of his private letters to his friends written long before that time, in free terms.

This deplorable cataſtrophe did not happen till 1555, twenty years after Geneva had paſſed ſentence upon the Romiſh religion: but my reaſon for placing it here, is to give the reader a better idea of the character of Calvin, who became the apoſtle of Geneva, and of the French reformed. One would think

think that they are now endeavouring to appeaſe the manes of Servetus. Many learned paſtors, and even great philoſophers, of the Proteſtant communion, have embraced his and Socinus's ſentiments. Nay, they have gone further: their religion is the adoration of one God, by the mediation of Chriſt. But for our part we only relate facts and opinions, without entering into any controverſy, without diſputing againſt any body, paying reſpect where it is due, and entirely attached to hiſtorical fidelity.

The laſt ſtroke in Calvin's character may be taken from a letter in his hand-writing, which is ſtill preſerved in the caſte of Baſtie-Roland near Montelimar: it is directed to the Marquis of Poët, Lord Chamberlain to the King of Navarre, and dated the 30th of September 1561.

" May honour, glory, and riches be the reward " of your trouble: above all, be ſure you don't fail " to clear the country of thoſe pitiful zealots, who " are exciting the people to revolt againſt us. Such " monſters as thoſe ought to be ſtrangled, the way " I dealt with Michael Servetus the Spaniard."

The generality of mankind have ſome virtues to counterbalance their vices. Calvin with all his cruelty was moſt diſintereſted; his whole fortune at his death amounted to no more than 120 crowns. Indefatigable application ſhortened his days, but gained him a high degree of credit, and has rendered his name immortal.

There are ſome of Luther's letters, which breathe as little peace or charity, as thoſe of Calvin. The Catholics cannot comprehend how the Proteſtants ſhould acknowledge ſuch apoſtles: the Proteſtants make anſwer, that they do not invoke thoſe as ſaints, who contributed to eſtabliſh their reformation; that they are neither Lutherans, nor Zwinglians, nor Calviniſts; that they think they follow the doctrine of the primitive church; that they are far

far from canonizing the passions of Luther and Calvin; and that the disagreeable character of those men, is no more reason for prejudicing the reformed against their opinions, than the manners of Alexander VI. and Leo X. and the persecutions for religion, are an objection against the church of Rome with a sensible Catholic.

This is a wise answer; and indeed the spirit of moderation seems to have succeeded the inveterate animosity of both parties. If the same sanguinary disposition had continued to preside over religion, Europe would have been by this time one great church-yard. At length the spirit of philosophy has blunted the edge of their swords. But what necessity was there for a madness of 200 years, to arrive at a few days happiness?

These disputes being decided by the sword, put the laity in possession of great part of the church-lands, but did not enrich the theologians, who promoted the wars. They had the fate of those who sound a charge, without sharing the spoils. The pastors of the Protestant churches had declaimed so vehemently against the riches of the clergy, that it would have been very unbecoming of them to take up with what they condemned: therefore most states laid hold of this circumstance, to prevent their being opulent. The Calvinistical and Lutheran clergy have had such incomes allowed them as are inconsistent with luxury. The abbey-lands in most countries have been seized on by the government, and applied to the support of hospitals. Lubeck and Osnabrug are the only rich Protestant bishopricks in Germany, whose revenues have not been secularized. When we come to inquire further into the consequences of this revolution, we shall see the whimsical, but pacific agreement, whereby the treaty of Westphalia has rendered this bishoprick of Osnabrug alternately Catholic and Lutheran.

theran. In England, the reformation was more favourable to the clergy than it has been in Germany, in Swiſſerland, and in the Low Countries, to the Lutherans and Calviniſts. The Engliſh biſhopricks are all conſiderable; and the benefices are ſuch as a man may genteely live upon. The country-clergy are more at their eaſe than in France: the government and the laity have profited by the diſſolution of the abbeys only. There are entire pariſhes in London, heretofore occupied by a ſingle convent, and now filled with a multitude of families. In general, every nation that has converted the religious houſes to the public uſe, hath gained thereby, humanly ſpeaking, and no body has been injured. For indeed nothing is taken from a ſociety which no longer exiſts. No body was hurt but the tranſient poſſeſſors who were ejected; and theſe have left no deſcendents that can complain. It is but the injuſtice of a day, which has been productive of the bleſſings of many ages.

Yet, in the midſt of this confuſion, and before any ſort of order could be eſtabliſhed, the two parties, the Catholics and the Lutherans, were throwing Germany into a combuſtion. The religion called *evangelical*, had been eſtabliſhed already in 1555, in twenty-four Imperial cities, and in eighteen ſmall provinces of the empire. The Lutherans would fain reduce the power of Charles V. and he wanted to deſtroy them. Leagues were formed, and battles were fought. But we muſt proceed with the revolutions in matters of religion, and ſee in what manner the church of England was eſtabliſhed, and how the church of France was rent and divided.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

Of King Henry VIII. *Of the revolution of religion in England.*

EVERY body knows that England ſeparated from Rome, becauſe King Henry VIII. was of an amorous diſpoſition. That which neither St Peter's pence, nor the reſervations and proviſos, nor the annats or firſt fruits, nor the levying of taxes, nor the ſale of indulgences, nor five hundred other exactions, conſtantly oppoſed by acts of parliament, and by the complaints of the people, could ever bring to paſs, was produced at length, or at leaſt occaſioned, by a tranſient amour. The firſt ſtone that was flung, threw down this coloſſus, which had been ſhaken long before by the public hatred.

Henry VIII. was a voluptuous prince, obſtinate and impetuous in his deſires. Among other ladies, he had a liking to Anne of Bullen, a private gentleman's daughter. This young lady was of ſo gay a diſpoſition, that the King might naturally expect ſhe would grant him favours: yet ſhe had the artifice not to yield to him, but to feed his flame, to ſuch a degree, that he reſolved to make her his wife.

He had been married now eighteen years to Katharine of Spain, daughter of Ferdinand and Iſabella, and aunt to Charles V. by whom he had had three children, one of them ſtill living, the Princeſs Mary, afterwards Queen of England. But how is he to obtain a divorce? how is he to annul a marriage with ſuch a wife as Katharine of Spain, who could neither be reproached with infecundity, nor with bad conduct, nor even with that peeviſh humour which ſo frequently accompanies female

virtue? She had been firſt married to Prince Arthur, elder brother of Henry VIII.; and upon his death, which happened in a few months after, Henry VII. had betrothed her to his ſecond ſon Henry, with a diſpenſation from Pope Julius II.; and Henry VIII. after his father's deceaſe, had been ſolemnly married to her. Some time after that he had a baſtard by a miſtreſs whoſe name was *Blunt*; and then he had only a diſlike to his wife, but no ſcruples. But as ſoon as he fell deſperately in love with Anne of Bullen, and that he could not obtain his ends without marrying her, he began to have conſcientious qualms, and to tremble for having offended God eighteen years, by cohabiting with his wife. Submiſſive ſtill to the Roman pontiffs, he ſolicited Clement VII. to annul the bull of Julius II. and to declare his marriage with the aunt of Charles V. contrary to divine and human laws.

Clement VII. a baſtard of Julian of Medicis, had lately been witneſs to the plundering of Rome by the Imperialiſts: having afterwards, with ſome difficulty, accommodated matters with the Emperor, he was ſtill afraid leſt this prince ſhould get him depoſed for his illegitimacy. He could not declare the Emperor's aunt a concubine, nor deprive the children of a princeſs, who for ſo many years had been a lawful wife, of their legitimacy. Beſides, a pope would hardly acknowledge that his predeceſſor had no right to grant a diſpenſation. It would have been undermining the very foundation of the pontifical grandeur, had he owned that there were laws which the popes had no power to ſet aſide.

It is true, that Lewis XII. had cauſed his marriage to be diſſolved. But the caſe was quite different. He had had no children by his wife; and Pope Alexander VI. who granted this divorce, was connected by intereſt with Lewis XII.

Francis

Francis I. King of France maintained the cauſe of Henry VIII. at Rome, both as his brother-in-law, and as his ally, and eſpecially as enemy of Charles V. who was already grown ſo formidable. The Pope thus preſſed by the Emperor, and thoſe two kings, and, as he wrote himſelf, between hawk and buzzard, negotiated, temporized, promiſed, and retracted, in hopes that the paſſion of Henry VIII. would not hold ſo long as an Italian negotiation. He was miſtaken. The Engliſh monarch happening unfortunately to be a theologian, made his theology adminiſter to his love. He, and all the doctors of his party, had recourſe to the book of Leviticus, which forbiddeth *the uncovering the nakedneſs of a brother's wife, or the marrying a wife's ſiſter.* Chriſtian ſtates have long wanted, and do ſtill want, good poſitive laws. Their juriſprudence, in ſeveral points ſtill Gothic, and compoſed of the ancient cuſtoms of 500 petty tyrants, hath frequently recourſe to the Roman and Hebrew laws. Like a bewildered traveller, who aſks his way, they rummage into the code of the Jewiſh nation, for rules to direct their tribunals.

But if we muſt follow the matrimonial laws of the Jews, we ſhould follow them in every thing. We ſhould condemn a man to death, who has carnal knowledge of his wife when ſhe has her menſes; and we ſhould ſubmit to a great many ordinances, that were deſigned neither for our climate, nor for our manners, nor for the new law.

This was but the leaſt part of the miſtake, in judging of Henry's marriage by the Leviticus. They omitted to take notice, that in thoſe very writings where God ſeems, according to our weak way of thinking, to command things quite contrary, in order to exerciſe human obedience, it was not only permitted, but commanded by Deuteronomy, to marry a brother's widow, when ſhe

had no children; that the widow was impowered to ſummon the brother-in-law to fulfil this injunction; and that, upon his refuſal, ſhe was to fling a ſhoe at his head.

A curious and extraordinary ſpectacle it was, to ſee on one ſide the King of England ſoliciting the univerſities to be favourable to his amour; on the other, the Emperor demanding their deciſions in favour of his aunt, and the King of France in the middle, maintaining the law of the Leviticus againſt that of Deuteronomy, in order to render Charles V. and Henry VIII. irreconcileable. The Emperor beſtowed benefices on the Italian doctors, who defended the validity of Katharine's marriage; while Henry VIII. paid every where for the opinion of thoſe who declared in his favour. Theſe myſteries time has brought to light. In the accounts of a ſecret agent for this king, whoſe name was *Crook*, we find: *To a religious of the order of Servites, a crown*; *To two of the order of St Francis, two crowns*; *To the prior of St John, fifteen crowns*; *To the preacher John Marino, twenty crowns*. Here we ſee, that the price was different according to the weight of the doctor. This purchaſer of theological opinions alledged as an excuſe, that he had never bargained for them, nor given any money till after ſigning. At length the univerſities of France, and eſpecially the Sorbonne, declared, that Henry's marriage with Katharine of Arragon * was illegal, and that the Pope had no right to diſpenſe with the law of Leviticus.

The agents of Henry VIII. went ſo far as to procure a corroboration of this opinion from the Jewiſh rabbies. Theſe people acknowledged indeed, that it was ordained in Deuteronomy to marry a widow's brother: but they ſaid, that this law was only for Paleſtine, and that the Leviticus ought to

* July 2. 1530.

be

be obſerved in England. The univerſities and rabbies in the Auſtrian dominions thought otherwiſe; but they were not conſulted.

Henry, ſtrengthened by opinions which had not coſt him a great deal, ſolicited by his miſtreſs, tired of the Pope's ſubterfuges, ſupported by his clergy, authoriſed by the univerſities, maſter of his parliament, and moreover encouraged by Francis I. gets * Cranmer Archbiſhop of Canterbury to declare his marriage void. The Queen having maintained her cauſe with a modeſt reſolution, and declined this juriſdiction, without furniſhing arms againſt herſelf, by invectives, retires to the country, reſigning her bed and throne to her rival. This lady, who was two months gone with child when declared wife and Queen, made her entrance into London with a pomp as much ſuperior to the uſual magnificence, as her paſt fortune was inferior to her preſent dignity.

Clement VII. could not then do leſs than grant a bull againſt Henry VIII. to appeaſe the wrath of Charles V. and to defend the prerogatives of the holy ſee. But by this bull the Pope loſt the kingdom of England †; for Henry ſhortly after obliged his clergy to declare him ſupreme head of their church. His parliament confirmed this title, ſuppreſſed the Pope's authority, and his annats, with St Peter's pence, and the proviſion of benefices. The people readily took a new oath to the King, called *the oath of ſupremacy*. Thus the Pope's whole credit, that had been eſtabliſhed ſo many ages, fell in an inſtant without contradiction, in ſpite of monkiſh deſpair.

They who pretended that it was dangerous for a great kingdom to break with the Pope, now perceived, that a ſingle blow was ſufficient to overturn this venerable coloſſus, the head of which was of

* 1533. † 1534.

gold, the feet of clay. And indeed the impositions with which the court of Rome had long harassed the English, were founded on no other right than the people's consent to being fleeced. As soon as they were resolved to shake off the yoke, it plainly appeared, that a power not founded on force is in itself no power at all.

The King prevailed on the parliament to grant him the annats or first fruits, which had been paid to the popes. He founded six new bishopricks, and ordered a visitation of all the convents in his own name. We have still the accounts of some scandalous debauches, industriously exaggerated; of false miracles, the number of which was magnified; and of supposed relics, which were made use of in more than one convent to excite the piety of the people, and to attract their benefactions. In the market-places in London several wooden images were burnt *, which the monks used to make move to and fro by springs.

But, among those instruments of fraud, the people could not, without horror and concern, see the revered ashes of St Thomas of Canterbury thrown into the flames. The King seized upon the shrine, rich with precious stones. He had reproached the monks with their exactions; and now he gave them an opportunity to accuse him of rapine. The convents were all suppressed. Places of retirement were appointed for the old monks, who could not return to a secular life; and the others were allowed a pension. The King took their estates into his own hands. According to Burnet's calculation, their annual revenue amounted to 1,600,000 l. Sterling; which perhaps is exaggerated. The moveables and ready money must have amounted to a considerable sum. Out of all those spoils Henry founded † six new bishopricks and a college, re-

* 1535. † 1536.

warded

warded a few ſervants, and converted the remainder to his own uſe.

Thus this very King, who with his pen had maintained the Pope's authority againſt Luther, was become a moſt bitter enemy of Rome. But the ſame zeal which he had ſo vigorouſly exerted againſt the opinions of that hereſiarch, was one inducement to make him preſerve the doctrine of the church, after he had changed its diſcipline.

He was reſolved to be an enemy to the Roman pontiff, but not a Lutheran or Sacramentiſt. The invocation of ſaints was not aboliſhed, but reſtrained. He was for having the Bible tranſlated; but he would not go a ſtep further. It was a capital crime to believe in the Pope, and it was the ſame to be a Proteſtant. He indiſcriminately ordered thoſe to be burnt who defended the authority of the ſee of Rome, with thoſe who declared themſelves for the German reformation.

The celebrated Sir Thomas Moor, who had been High Chancellor of England, and a biſhop whoſe name was *Fiſher*, refuſing to take the oath of ſupremacy, that is, to acknowledge Henry VIII. as Pope of England, were, in conſequence of a late act of parliament, condemned to be beheaded; for it was under the ſanction of the law that Henry VIII. put every body to death who oppoſed his will.

Paul III. ſucceſſor of Clement VII. thought he ſhould ſave Fiſher's life, while they were proceeding to his trial, by ſending him a cardinal's hat. But he only gave the King the ſatisfaction of putting his *Eminence* to death. A reward was publiſhed for the head of Cardinal Pool, who was then at Rome. The King cauſed this cardinal's mother to be beheaded; neither reſpecting her great age, nor the blood-royal from which ſhe deſcended; and all becauſe they diſputed his title of *Engliſh Pope*.

The King having been informed, that there was

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in London a very able Sacramentarian, named *Lambert*, would fain have the glory of disputing with him at a grand assembly in Westminster. The result of the dispute was, that the King gave him his choice, either to change opinion, or to be hanged. Lambert had the courage to embrace the latter, and the King was so mean and cruel as to put him to death. The English bishops were still Catholics, though they had renounced the Pope's jurisdiction: and so furiously incensed were they against heretics, that, after they had condemned those poor wretches to be burnt, they granted forty days indulgence to whosoever would fetch wood for the fire.

All these murders were committed by act of parliament. Yet this cloak of justice, though more odious perhaps than an open defiance of the laws, was what prevented civil wars. There were only a few insurrections in the distant counties. London trembled and looked on; so blindly was this artful and terrible prince obeyed.

His will alone constituted all laws; and so imperfect were the laws relating to criminal causes, that the prisoner might be cast for life, without being confronted by two witnesses. It was not till the reign of Edward VI. that an act of parliament passed, requiring two witnesses, as in other countries, for the condemnation of a criminal.

While Anne of Bullen triumphed under the royal shelter and authority, it is pretended, that the secret emissaries of Rome were conspiring her ruin, in hopes that if the King parted with her, the daughter of Katharine of Spain would succeed to the crown, and restore the religion that had been abolished on the account of Katharine's rival. This plot succeeded even beyond their expectation. The King falling in love with Jane Seymour, maid of honour to the Queen, greedily swallowed the insinuations

nuations againſt his wife. His paſſions were all in the extreme. He was not aſhamed to acuſe the Queen of adultery before the houſe of Lords. The parliament, ever ſubſervient to the monarch's paſſions, paſſed ſentence of death *, upon ſuch ſlight foundations, that were a private citizen to quarrel with his wife for ſo trivial a matter, it would be conſidered as an injuſtice. They beheaded her brother, upon a ſuppoſition of having carried on an inceſtuous commerce with his ſiſter, though they had not the leaſt proof againſt him. They put two men to death, for having ſaid ſome flattering things to the Queen, which are ſaid to all women, and which a virtuous princeſs may liſten to, when diſpoſed, by an innocent chearfulneſs, to allow a little liberty to her courtiers. They hanged a muſician, who had been hired to ſwear, that ſhe had granted him favours, though he had never been confronted with her. The letter which this unfortunate Queen wrote to the King, as ſhe was going to mount the ſcaffold, ſeems to be a great proof of her innocence and courage. *You have been continually raiſing me*, ſays ſhe: *from a private woman you made me a marchioneſs, from a marchioneſs a queen; and now from a queen you are pleaſed to raiſe me to-day to be a ſaint.* In ſhort, Anne of Bullen was removed from the throne to the ſcaffold by the jealouſy of a huſband who ceaſed to love her. She was not the twentieth crowned head that had made a tragic exit in England; but ſhe was the firſt who died by the hands of an executioner. The tyrant (for we can call him by no other name) was alſo divorced from this wife † before he put her to death, thereby declaring his daughter Eliſabeth a baſtard, as he had before declared his daughter Mary.

The day immediately ſubſequent to the Queen's

* 1536. † 1535.

execution,

execution, he married Jane Seymour, who died the next year, after having given him a ſon.

Henry ſoon proceeds * to his fourth nuptials with Anne of Cleves, deceived by a portrait of that princeſs, drawn by the famous Holbens. But when he ſaw her, he found the original ſo different from the copy, that in ſix months he reſolved upon a third divorce. He repreſented to his clergy, that at the time he married Anne of Cleves, he had not given his inward conſent. It is impoſſible for any man to have the impudence to alledge ſuch a reaſon, unleſs he is ſure that the perſons with whom he is treating will be ſo mean as to acquieſce to it. The bounds of juſtice and reaſon had been broke through ſome time. The clergy and parliament paſſed ſentence of divorce; and he married a fifth wife, one of his own ſubjects, Katharine Howard. Any body elſe would have been aſhamed of expoſing the real or pretended ignominy of his family to public view. But Henry having heard, that the Queen had had gallants before her marriage, ordered this wife alſo to be beheaded for a paſt failing, which he ought to have overlooked †, and which, when committed, was not deſerving of death.

Stained with three divorces, and with the blood of two of his wives, he enacted a law, equally ſcandalous, cruel, ridiculous, and impracticable; namely, That every man privy to a Queen's incontinency ſhall be obliged to accuſe her, upon pain of high treaſon; and that whatever woman marries the King of England, and is not a virgin, muſt declare it, under the ſame penalty.

It was ſaid by way of joke, (if joking could be allowed at ſuch a court), that the King muſt marry a widow. Accordingly he married one, and that was his ſixth wife, Katharine Parr. She had like to have undergone the ſame fate as Anne of Bullen

* 1539. † 1542.

and

and Katharine Howard, not for any act of gallantry, but for having been sometimes of a different opinion from the King in matters of theology *.

Some sovereigns that changed the religion of their country have been tyrants, because opposition and revolt will occasion cruelty. Henry VIII. was cruel in his nature, a tyrant in government, in religion, and in his family. Yet he died in his bed †; and Henry VI. the humanest of princes, had been dethroned, imprisoned, and murdered.

During his last illness there appeared a very extraordinary instance of the force of the English laws, while unrepealed; and how much more the English in all times adhered to the letter than to the spirit of those laws. No body would venture to acquaint the King of his approaching dissolution, because of an act of parliament, some years before, making it high treason to predict the sovereign's death. This cruel and absurd law could not be founded on the disturbances that might be occasioned by the succession, since this was settled in favour of Prince Edward. It was only an effect of the tyranny of Henry VIII. of his dread of death, and of the opinion which still obtained among the people, that there is an art of knowing futurity.

CHAP. XV.

The Religion of England continued.

IN the reign of young Edward VI. son of Henry VIII. and of Jane Seymour, the English were Protestants, because the prince and his privy council were of that persuasion, and the spirit of reformation had taken root in all parts of the kingdom. The church of England was at that time a medley of Sacramentarians and Lutherans: but no body

* 1543. † 1545.

was

was perſecuted for his religion, except two Anabaptiſt women, whom the Lutheran Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Cranmer, cauſed to be burnt; little thinking that he ſhould periſh one day himſelf by the ſame puniſhment. The young king was loth to ſign the ſentence againſt one of theſe unfortunate women: he oppoſed it a long time; and at length, when he ſigned it, he could not refrain from tears. It was not enough to ſhed tears; he ſhould not have conſented. But he was then only fourteen years of age, and therefore could have no ſettled will of his own, either in regard to good or evil.

The ſect which at that time went by the name of *Anabaptiſts* in England, were the forerunners of thoſe peaceful Quakers, whoſe religion has been ſuch a ſubject of ridicule in our times, while their morals are ſo greatly reſpected. They bore no reſemblance in their doctrine, much leſs in their conduct, to the Anabaptiſts of Germany, a collectitious multitude of ſavage boors, who carried their fanatic fury to every exceſs that human nature, left to its own guidance, can reach. The Engliſh Anabaptiſts had not as yet a body of eſtabliſhed dogmas; for no popular ſect can have any till after ſome length of time. But what is very extraordinary, while they imagined themſelves to be Chriſtians, and never troubled their heads about philoſophic diſputes, they were in reality nothing but Deiſts; for they looked upon Chriſt only as a man, to whom God had vouchſafed to grant a purer ray of light than to his cotemporaries. The moſt learned of their ſect pretended, that the term *the Son of God* ſignified, among the Hebrews, no more than *a good man*, as *the ſon of Satan* or *Belial* implies only *a bad man*. Moſt of the dogmas, they ſaid, that have been extracted from ſcripture, are philoſophic ſubtilties, with which the plain truths of the law of nature have been involved. They neither believed

lieved the history of the fall of man, nor the mystery of the Trinity, nor, of course, the incarnation. They absolutely rejected infant-baptism, and rebaptized adult persons. Many of them looked upon baptism as an ancient oriental ablution, adopted by the Jews, renewed by St John Baptist, but never practised by Christ towards any of his disciples. In this they mostly resembled the Quakers who succeeded them; and it is chiefly their aversion to infant-baptism that made the people give them the name of *Anabaptists*. They fancied they were literally conforming to the gospel; and to die for their persuasion, they thought was the same as dying for Christianity; very different in this respect from the Deists, who spread their secret opinions more than ever, in the midst of such a multitude of public sects.

The Deists, more attached to Plato than to Christ, rather philosophers than Christians, tired of so many unhappy disputes, had the temerity to reject divine revelation, which mankind abused too much, and human authority, which they abused still more. They were spread all over Europe, and have since prodigiously multiplied, but without establishing either sect or society, without rebelling against any power whatever. It is the only religion in the world that never had any assembly, the religion in which the least has been written, the religion the most peaceable. Without any communication it has extended itself on every side. Originally composed of philosophers, who, following too closely the light of reason, and never communicating their thoughts to each other, have all strayed the same way: thence proceeding to the middle order, that is, of those who have leisure and fortune, it has reached the higher rank in most nations, and but rarely descends to the common people. Of all countries in the world England is where this reli-

gion, or rather philoſophy, has taken the deepeſt and moſt extended root. Here it has penetrated among ſome artiſans, and even among the country-people. The inhabitants of this iſland are the only nation that have begun of themſelves to think: but the number of thoſe ruſtic philoſophers is, and always will be very ſmall; for manual labour and reaſoning do not well agree; and, in general, the common people can hardly be ſaid either to uſe or abuſe their underſtanding.

From theſe theological diviſions, baneful Atheiſm aroſe in moſt parts of Europe. Some pretend, that there were more Atheiſts in Italy than in any other country. It was not religious quarrels that led the Italian philoſophers to this exceſs; but the profligacy and debauch into which the ſeveral courts, and that of Rome among the reſt, were fallen. Upon peruſing a great many Italian writers of thoſe days, we find, that their authors, too much ſhocked at the lewdneſs and iniquity of the age, denied the exiſtence of a ſupreme being, by whom ſuch lewdneſs and iniquity were permitted, and fell into the ſame way of thinking as that embraced by Lucretius in times equally corrupt. This pernicious opinion gained ground among the great in England and in France; it made but very little progreſs in Germany and the North; and there is no great danger that it will ever ſpread very wide. Sound philoſophy, ethics, and the intereſt of ſociety, have almoſt deſtroyed it; but at that time it grew ſtrong, by means of the wars of religion, when a multitude of enthuſiaſts were influenced by Atheiſtical leaders.

In thoſe unhappy times died Edward VI. of whom the public had conceived great hopes, which was all his age would permit *. Upon his deathbed he conveyed the crown to his couſin, Lady Jane Grey, deſcended from Henry VII. in prejudice to his ſiſter

* 1553.

Mary,

Mary, daughter of Henry VIII. and of Katharine of Spain. Jane was proclaimed at London; but Mary's party and right prevailed. There was hardly a civil war on this occaſion. Mary confined her rival to the tower along with Princeſs Eliſabeth, who reigned afterwards with ſo much glory.

A great deal more blood was ſpilt by executioners than by ſoldiers. The father, the father-in-law, the huſband of Lady Jane, and at length Lady Jane herſelf, were condemned to be beheaded. She was the ſecond queen that died in England by the hands of the executioner. This princeſs was only ſeventeen years old: ſhe had been forced to accept of the crown; every circumſtance pleaded in her favour; and Mary herſelf ought to have dreaded the too frequent example of tranſitions from the throne to the ſcaffold. But nothing could move her: ſhe was as cruel as Henry VIII.; yet a tyrant of a different ſort, acting always with a gloomy calm, whereas her father Henry was furious and violent.

Steady to the church of Rome, and provoked at her mother's divorce, ſhe began her reign with ſummoning, by intrigues and bribery, a Catholic houſe of Commons. As to the peers, who, for the moſt part, had no religion but that of their prince, ſhe found no difficulty to prevail with them. The ſame thing happened in point of religion, which had been experienced before in politics, during the wars between the white and red roſes. The parliament had alternately condemned the Yorks and the Lancaſters. Under Henry VIII. they perſecuted the Proteſtants; they encouraged them under Edward VI.; and burnt them under Mary. It has been often aſked, why this terrible puniſhment ſhould be among Chriſtians inflicted on thoſe who do not think like the eſtabliſhed church, while even the moſt hainous crimes are puniſhed with a milder

death? Bishop Burnet assigns as a reason, that since they believed the souls of heretics to be eternally burnt in hell-fire, though their bodies are not to be there till after the resurrection, they might imagine, that they imitated the divine justice, by consigning them to flames on earth *.

Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, who had been extremely serviceable to Henry VIII. in his divorce, was not condemned for this dangerous service, but for being a Protestant. He had the weakness to abjure his religion; and Mary had the satisfaction to cause him to be committed to the flames, after she had been the occasion of his disgrace. The primate of England resumed his courage at the stake. After declaring that he died a Protestant, he performed in reality what is probably only feigned of Mutius Scævola. The hand that signed the abjuration he thrust into the flames; nor did he fling himself upon the pile, till it dropped off: An action as intrepid, and more glorious, than that attributed to Mutius. The Briton punished himself for having yielded to what he thought a criminal weakness, and the Roman for having miscarried in an attempt to assassinate.

They reckon about 800 persons that were burnt alive in Mary's reign. A woman happened to be delivered of a child at the very stake; some of the spectators snatched the infant from the flames; but the Catholic judge ordered it to be thrown in again. Upon reading such detestable cruelties, can we think ourselves born in human society, or among those beings represented in a gulf of torments, anxious to plunge mankind into the same abyss?

Of all those condemned to be burnt in Mary's reign, not one was accused of treason. Their religion seemed to be their whole guilt. The Jews are allowed the exercise of their law, and have even

* 1553.

privileges

privileges granted them; while Christians consign to the cruellest of deaths other Christians, who differ from them in a few articles.

Mary * died in peace, though despised by Philip her husband, and by her subjects, who still reproach her with the loss of Calais, leaving behind her a name odious to whosoever is not fond of persecution.

Mary, a Catholic Queen, was succeeded by Elisabeth, a Protestant. The parliament were Protestants, the nation became so, and are so still. Then the religion was fixed. The liturgy, which had been only sketched, as it were, under Edward VI. was settled in its present form. The Roman hierarchy was preserved, with fewer ceremonies, than among the Roman Catholics, and more than among the Lutherans; confession was permitted, but not commanded; a firm belief was taught, that God is in the eucharist, without transubstantiation: these are the fundamentals of the church of England. Policy required, that the supremacy should continue annexed to the crown: and therefore a woman became head of the church.

This woman had more wit, and better sense, than her father Henry, or her sister Mary. She avoided persecuting, as much as they were fond of it. Perceiving, upon her accession, that the preachers of both sides sounded the trumpet of discord, she stopped their mouths by a proclamation, that none should preach for six months, without liberty from her Majesty, to the end that the minds of the people might be disposed towards peace. This new precaution restrained those who thought they had a right, and who might have abilities to stir up the people. No body was persecuted, nor even molested for his belief: but the laws were strictly put in execution against law-breakers, and disturbers of

* 1558.

the ſtate. Then it was that this grand principle, to which the world had been ſo long a ſtranger, eſtabliſhed itſelf in England, that it belongs to God alone to judge the hearts of thoſe who may offend him; and that it is the buſineſs of man to chaſtiſe thoſe who tranſgreſs againſt human government. We ſhall ſee hereafter what opinion we ought to entertain of Eliſabeth, and what judgment eſpecially we ſhould form of the Engliſh nation.

CHAP. XVI.

Of religion in Scotland.

THE religious troubles in Scotland were only a kind of reflux of thoſe in England. Towards the year 1559, a few Calviniſts had ingratiated themſelves with the people. Theſe are always the firſt to be worked upon. They are ſincere; they put on the bridle themſelves, till ſome perſon of great authority comes to hold it, and renders it ſubſervient to his own intereſt.

The Catholic biſhops did not fail, in the beginning, to condemn ſome heretics to the flames; a puniſhment as common in Europe as hanging a thief.

The effect this had in Scotland is uſual in all countries that have the leaſt ſhadow of liberty. An old prieſt having been condemned to the ſtake by the Archbiſhop of St Andrew's, the cruelty of this execution made a great many proſelytes *, and furniſhed an opportunity for ſpreading the new doctrine with greater freedom, and for railing againſt the barbarity of the Archbiſhop. Several Scotch lords acted the ſame part in Scotland, during the minority of the famous Mary Queen of Scots, as

* 1559.

was

was afterwards acted by the French nobility during the minority of Charles IX. Their ambition blew the coals which had been lighted by the religious disputes. In short here, as in other places, there was a great deal of blood spilt. The Scotch, at that time one of the poorest and most indolent nations in Europe, would have done much better, had they applied themselves to the improvement of their barren country, or at least had they endeavoured to establish a fishery on their coasts, for their necessary subsistence; much better I say, than to stain this wretched kingdom with blood, for the sake of foreign opinions, and for the interest of a few ambitious men. This was adding misfortune to the poverty under which they then laboured.

The Queen-regent *, mother of Mary Queen of Scots, thought to stifle the reformation in the beginning, by sending for troops from France. But this very measure contributed to establish what she would fain have hindered. The Scotch parliament, enraged to see their country swarm with foreign troops, obliged the Queen to send them back: upon which they suppressed the Romish religion, and established the confession of Geneva.

Mary Stuart, dowager of Francis II. a weak princess, formed only for love, and forced by Katharine de Medicis, envious of her beauty, to return to Scotland, found her country in a miserable situation, rent by fanatics. We shall see in what manner she increased the national calamities by her indiscretion.

Calvinism at length prevailed in Scotland, in spite of the Catholic, and afterwards in spite of the Anglican bishops. This sect at present is almost abolished in France; at least it is no longer tolerated. Thus there has been nothing but revolu-

* 1559.

tions

tions since the sixteenth century, in Scotland, England, Germany, Sweden, Denmark, and France.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the state of religion in France under Francis I. *and his successors.*

THE French, ever since the reign of Charles VII. were considered at Rome as schismatics, because of the pragmatic sanction, which had been made at Bourges, in conformity to the decrees of the fathers at the council of Basil, enemies to the popedom. The principal article of this pragmatic sanction was, the usage of ecclesiastic elections, an usage tending to the encouragement of virtue and learning in better times, but then a source of faction and discord. It was acceptable to the public for two reasons: the lovers of strict discipline looked upon it as the remains of the primitive church; the universities, as the reward of their labour. And yet the popes continued to receive the annats for the most part, in spite of the pragmatic sanction, by which this and other exactions had been abolished. Fromentau informs us, that, during the seventeen years reign of Lewis XII. the popes drew from the diocese of Paris the exorbitant sum of 3,300,000 livres current money of that time.

When Francis I. undertook in 1515 his Italian expedition, which in the beginning seemed more promising, and afterwards proved more unfortunate, than those of Charles VIII. and Lewis XII.; Leo X. who had opposed him in the beginning, wanted his assistance, and the King likewise stood in need of the Pope.

The Chancellor Duprat, who was afterwards Cardinal, concluded with Pope Leo's ministers that

that famous concordate *, by which it was said, that the King and the Pope gave to each other what did not belong to them. The King obtained the nomination of benefices; and the Pope, by a secret article, had the first-fruits, upon renouncing all mandamus's, proviso's, *gratiæ expectativæ*, and foreſtalments, to which Rome had long pretended. The Pope, immediately after signing the concordate, reserved to himself the first-fruits, by a particular bull. The university of Paris, deprived of one of her privileges, assumed another, which even the parliament of England could hardly pretend to. She published a prohibition to print the King's concordate, or to obey him. And yet the universities are not so ill used by this agreement between the King and the Pope, since the third part of the benefices is reserved to those bodies, and they have a power of obtaining them four months of the year, January, April, July, and October, which are called the *months of the graduates*.

The clergy, and especially the collegiate churches, who were deprived of the privilege of nominating their bishops, murmured greatly: but the expectation of benefices from the court made them quiet. The parliament having no such expectation, continued unshaken in their resolution to maintain the ancient usages, and the liberties of the Gallican church, of which they were guardians. They respectfully withstood several of the royal mandates; and at length, being necessitated to register the concordate, they protested it was in obedience only to the repeated commands of his Majesty.

Yet the parliament in their remonstrances, and the university in her complaints, seemed to lose sight of an essential service which Francis I. had rendered the nation, by granting the annats. They had been paid before that time upon an exorbitant footing

* 1515.

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in France as well as in England, and this prince reduced them to a moderate ſum; for now they do not amount to 400,000 livres, *communibus annis*; a ſum eaſily recovered by commerce. But it was the general deſire of the nation, that no annats at all ſhould be paid to Rome.

For ſome time after the concordate, great confuſion aroſe in many dioceſes. The King nominated a biſhop, the canons another; and the parliament, in virtue of the appeals from abuſes, determined in favour of the clergy. Theſe diſputes would have been productive of civil wars in the times of feudal government. At length Francis I. took away from the parliament the cogniſance of what relates to biſhopricks and abbeys, and gave it to the grand council. In proceſs of time every thing was quiet. The public accuſtomed themſelves to the concordate, as if it had always exiſted; and the murmurings of the parliament entirely ceaſed in 1538, when the King obtained of Pope Paul III. the indult of the chancellor and of the members of parliament, an indult, whereby they are impowered to do in little what the King does in great, that is, to confer a benefice once in their lives. The maſters of requeſts had the ſame privilege.

In this whole affair, which gave ſo much trouble to Francis I. it was neceſſary he ſhould be obeyed, if he had a mind that Leo X. ſhould fulfil his engagements, and help him to recover the duchy of Milan.

It is evident, that this intimate connection was inconſiſtent with the King's tolerating any other religion than that of Rome. The privy council thought, that novelty of religion is attended with revolution of ſtate. Politicians may be miſtaken by judging only from a ſingle example that ſtrikes them. The council were in the right, conſidering the

the troubles in Germany, which they themſelves fomented: perhaps they were miſtaken, conſidering the facility with which Lutheraniſm had been eſtabliſhed by the kings of Sweden and Denmark. They might likewiſe look back, and ſee much greater examples. The true religion had been every where introduced without civil war; in the Roman empire, by Conſtantine's edict; in France, by the will and pleaſure of Clovis; in England, by the example of the little King of Kent, named *Ethelbert*; in Poland and in Hungary, by the ſame cauſes. It had not been much above a century ſince the firſt of the Jagellons, who reigned in Poland, embraced Chriſtianity, converted all Lithuania and Samogitia to the ſame religion; and yet we do not find that thoſe ancient Gepidæ ever murmured. True it is that the Saxons had been baptized by Charlemagne in rivers of blood; but this was becauſe he wanted to inſlave, and not to inſtruct them. If they pleaſed to caſt their eye on the whole continent of Aſia, they would have ſeen, that the Mahometan territories are full of Chriſtians and idolaters, who live very peaceably under the government; that ſeveral religions are profeſſed in India, in China, and elſewhere, which were never planted by the ſword. Had they traced all antiquity, they would have met with examples of the ſame kind. A new religion is neither dangerous nor bloody in itſelf; the danger is from the ambition of the great, who render this religion ſubſervient to their purpoſe of weakening the government. Thus the Lutheran princes took up arms againſt the Emperor, who wanted to deſtroy them: but neither Francis I. nor Henry II. had princes or lords to be afraid of.

The court, though afterwards divided under unfortunate minorities, was at that time united in perfect obedience to Francis I. This prince may be

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ſaid to have permitted the perſecution of heretics, but did not perſecute them himſelf. The biſhops and the parliaments lighted the fires, and he never offered to extinguiſh them.

Religion did not give him much uneaſineſs. He entered into an alliance with the Proteſtants of the empire, and even with the Mahometans, againſt Charles V.: and when the Lutheran princes of Germany reproached him with putting their brethren to death, though guilty of no crime againſt the ſtate, he laid the whole blame upon the magiſtrates.

We have ſeen the Engliſh judges under Henry VIII. and Queen Mary exerciſing ſuch cruelties as ſtrike us with horror. The French, who are reckoned a more humane people, greatly exceeded thoſe barbarities which had been committed under the pretext of religion and juſtice.

In the twelfth century, there was one Peter Valdo, a rich merchant of Lions, whoſe piety and errors are ſaid to have given riſe to the ſect of the Vaudois. This man having retired with ſeveral poor people, whom he maintained, to the deſert and uncultivated valleys betwixt Provence and Dauphiné, acted both as their high prieſt and father, inſtructing them in his ſect, which reſembled that of the Albigenſes, of Wickliff, of John Huſs, of Luther, and Zwinglius, in regard to ſeveral of the chief articles. Theſe men lived a great while in obſcurity, buſied in the culture of thoſe barren lands, which, with indefatigable induſtry, they rendered fit for corn and paſture. This ſhews how greatly we are to blame, if, through neglect, we ſuffer any part of France to lie uncultivated. The neighbouring grounds were let to them upon leaſes; which they improved by their labour, ſo as to maintain themſelves, and to enrich their landlords, who never complained of their conduct. In the

ſpace

ſpace of 250 years, their number increaſed to near 18,000, diſperſed in thirty boroughs, beſides hamlets. All this was the fruit of their induſtry. There were no prieſts among them, no quarrels about religious worſhip, no law-ſuits; they determined their differences among themſelves. None but thoſe who repaired to the neighbouring towns knew that there was either maſs or biſhops. They prayed to God in their own jargon; and being continually employed, they had the happineſs to know no vice. This peaceful ſtate they had enjoyed for above 200 years, ſince the wars againſt the Albigenſes, with which the people had been tired. When mankind have long wantoned in cruelty, their fury abates, and ſinks into languor and indifference. This we ſee conſtantly verified in individuals, as well as in whole nations. Such was the tranquillity which the Vaudois enjoyed, when the reformers of Germany and Geneva came to hear that there were others of the ſame perſuaſion as themſelves. Immediately they ſent ſome of their miniſters, a name given to the curates of the Proteſtant churches, to viſit them; and ſince then the Vaudois are but too well known. The late edicts againſt heretics had condemned them to the flames. The parliament of Provence paſſed this ſentence * againſt nineteen of the principal inhabitants of the borough of Merindol, further ordaining, that their woods ſhould be cut down, and their houſes demoliſhed. The Vaudois, terrified at this ſentence, ſent a deputation to Cardinal Sadolet, Biſhop of Carpentras, who at that time was in his dioceſe. This illuſtrious ſcholar, this true philoſopher, this humane and compaſſionate prelate, received them with great goodneſs, and interceded in their behalf. Langeai, commander of the King's forces in Piedmont, ſuſpended the execution of the ſentence. Francis I.

* 1540.

granted them a pardon, on condition they would recant. But it is very rare that people recant a religion imbibed from their infancy. Their obstinacy provoked the parliament of Provence *, who were all hot-headed men; so that John Meynier of Oppede, at that time first president, and the most violent of them all, continued the proceedings.

At length the Vaudois rose up in arms. The president, enraged at this step, represented their misbehaviour in the very worst colours to the King, and obtained leave to execute the sentence, which had been suspended full five years. The sentence could not be executed but by military force: therefore the president, and Guerin the attorney-general, took some troops with them. It seems evident, that these obstinate people, whom Maimbourg the declaimer calls a *rebellious rabble*, were not at all disposed to rebellion, since they made no defence: they fled on every side, crying out for mercy. The soldiers massacred the women, children, and old men, who could not save themselves by timely flight.

D'Oppede and Guerin run from village to village, murdering all they meet. They set fire to the houses and barns, destroying the grain, and the trees. They pursue the fugitives through the flames. In the little walled borough of Cabrieres, only sixty men and thirty women were left behind; these surrender, upon promise that their lives shall be spared; but they had scarce capitulated, when they were inhumanely butchered. A few women had taken shelter in a neighbouring church; from thence they are dragged by D'Oppede's command, who shuts them up in a barn, and orders it to be set on fire. It was reckoned that two and twenty boroughs were reduced to ashes; and when the fire had spent itself, that once flourishing and populous country

* 1541.

was

was reduced to a desert, strewed with dead bodies. The few that made their escape, fled towards Piedmont. Francis I. was shocked at the news. The sentence, which he had permitted to be carried into execution, mentioned only the capital punishment of nineteen heretics; whereas D'Oppede and Guerin massacred thousands of the inhabitants. The King upon his deathbed recommended to his son to punish this barbarity, the like instance of which had been never heard among ministers of peace.

Accordingly Henry II. gave leave to the ruined lords of those ravaged villages and of those massacred inhabitants, to carry their complaint to the parliament of Paris. The cause was pleaded: D'Oppede had interest enough to be acquitted: the whole guilt was thrown upon Guerin the attorney-general; whose single life was the only atonement made for the blood of this unhappy multitude.

These executions did not hinder the progress of Calvinism. One side lighted up fires; the other laughed, and chaunted Marot's psalms, according to the volatile, and sometimes cruel temper of the French nation. The whole court of Margaret, Queen of Navarre, and sister to Francis I. were Calvinists; as were also one half of the King's. This change, which began with the common people, spread now among the great, as it generally happens. The Calvinist ministers preached in private; in public every body disputed. These contentions, which few or none trouble their heads about at present, either in Paris or at court, because they are stale, were attended to by every body, because of their novelty. At that time several members of the parliament of Paris had an attachment to what they called *the reformation*. Those magistrates had been ever attentive to oppose the incroachments of the church of Rome, which the heretics put an entire end to. Some of the members, remarkable for a

ſevere republican liberty, were further pleaſed with favouring a rigid ſect, which condemned the proffigacy of the court. Henry II. diſſatisfied with divers members of that aſſembly, bolts one day all of a ſudden into the great chamber *, while they were debating about the perſecution againſt the Huguenots. He orders five of them to be ſeized. Anne du Bourg, one who had expreſſed himſelf with the greateſt warmth, ſigned his confeſſion of faith in the Baſtile, which in many articles was found conſentaneous to that of the Calviniſts and the Lutherans. There was then an inquiſitor in France; though the court of inquiſition, deteſted by every Frenchman, had never been eſtabliſhed in that country. Du Bourg was tried and condemned by that inquiſitor, Mouchi, Biſhop of Paris, and by a few commiſſioners of the parliament, notwithſtanding that ancient law, purſuant to which he ought to have been tried by the parliament in full aſſembly; a law ſtill ſubſiſting, ſtill inſiſted upon, and yet generally of no uſe: for nothing is more common in the hiſtory of France, than members of parliament not tried by their peers. Anne du Bourg was not executed till the reign of Francis II. when the Cardinal of Lorrain, a violent miniſter, inſiſted on his being put to death †. They hanged and burnt in the place de Greve, this prieſt and magiſtrate, a man of too obſtinate a temper, but a magiſtrate of known virtue and integrity.

Martyrs are productive of proſelytes. The execution of a man of that character, made more Proteſtants than Calvin's inſtitutes. The ſixth part of France were Calviniſts under Francis II. as one third of Germany, at leaſt, were Lutherans under Charles V.

There remained only one right way to act; which was, to imitate the example of Charles V. who, after

* 1554. † 1559.

a series of wars, concluded at length with granting liberty of conscience; and that of Queen Elisabeth, who maintained the established religion, but allowed every body to worship God their own way, provided they did nothing to oppose the government.

This is the maxim now observed in all those countries heretofore ravaged by religious wars, after too fatal an experience has demonstrated the rectitude of such a measure.

But before this measure can be pursued, the laws must be in force, and the violence of parties must begin to subside. In France there was nothing but bloody factions from the reign of Francis I. to the happy days of Henry the Great. In those licentious times, the laws were trampled upon; and even when the civil wars were at an end, fanaticism still survived, and assassinated this monarch in the bosom of peace, by the hand of a madman; of a visionary let loose from a cloyster.

Having thus formed to myself an idea of the state of religion in the sixteenth century, I shall take some notice of the religious orders, which combated the new opinions; and of the inquisition, which endeavoured to exterminate the Protestants.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the religious orders.

THE monastic life, source of so much good and so much mischief, one of the chief pillars of the Papacy, and which produced the person by whom the Papacy was exterminated out of one half of Europe, merits our particular attention.

There are a great many Protestants and speculative politicians, who imagine that the popes invented all these numerous bodies, which differ so great-

ly in dreſs, food, occupation, and rule of life, to be a ſtanding army for the holy ſee in the ſeveral ſtates of Chriſtendom. It is true that the popes have found thoſe orders ſerviceable to their cauſe, but they were not the inventers of this inſtitution.

Among the oriental nations, even in remoteſt antiquity, there were men who retired from the croud to lead a religious life. The Perſians, the Egyptians, and eſpecially the Indians, had communities of Cenobites, independently of thoſe who were deſigned for the ſervice of the altar. We have no inſtances of any among the Greeks and the Romans. The different colleges of prieſts officiated in their reſpective temples. Thoſe people were ſtrangers to a monaſtic life. The Jews had their Eſſenians and their Therapeuts; and were imitated by the Chriſtians.

Towards the beginning of the fourteenth century, St Baſil wrote his rule in a barbarous province towards the Black ſea; and it was followed by all the monks of the Eaſt: he invented the three religious vows, to which all the recluſe ſubmitted. St Benedict, patriarch of the weſtern monks, wrote his rule in the ſixth century.

It had been long a comfort to mankind, to ſee thoſe aſylums open to whoſoever deſired to retire from the oppreſſions of the Goths and Vandals. Almoſt all but the lords of caſtles were ſlaves: while the cloyſters afforded ſhelter from tyranny and military ſervice. It is true, the feudal laws in the Weſt did not permit a ſlave to be admitted into a monaſtery without his lord's conſent; but the monks knew how to elude this law. What little literature remained among the barbarians, was preſerved in the monaſteries. The Benedictines tranſcribed ſome books. By degrees the monks were authors of ſeveral uſeful inventions. Beſides, thoſe recluſe tilled the land, ſang praiſe and glory to God,

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led a ſober life, and were hoſpitable; and their example might contribute to ſoften the ferocity of thoſe barbarous times. But complaints were ſoon made, that thoſe inſtitutions, ſo pious in their original, had been corrupted by opulence, and wanted a reformation. Every age and country gave birth to men animated by the example of St Benedict, men who would fain be founders of new congregations.

The ſpirit of ambition is often joined with that of enthuſiaſm; it inſenſibly blends itſelf with the ſtricteſt piety. To be admitted into the old order of St Benedict, was entering into a ſtate of ſubjection; but to found a new inſtitution, was eſtabliſhing a kind of empire. Hence ſuch a multitude of clerks, of canon regulars, of religious men and women. Whoſoever attempted to found an order, was welcome to the Pope, becauſe they are all immediately ſubject to the holy ſee, and exempted, a much as poſſible, from the juriſdiction of their biſhops. Moſt of their generals reſide at Rome, as the centre of Chriſtianity; and from this capital they ſend whatever orders the Pontiff gives them, to the remoteſt part of the globe.

At the beginning of the ſixteenth century, the ſeveral ſtates of Chriſtendom ſwarmed with a ſet of people, who were become ſtrangers in their own country, and ſubjects of the Pope. Another abuſe is, that theſe immenſe families are perpetuated to the detriment of the human ſpecies. We may ſafely aver, that before one half of Europe had ſuppreſſed the religious houſes, they contained above 500,000 ſouls. There are whole countries depopulated; the colonies of the new world want inhabitants; and the ſcourge of war ſweeps away too many of our fellow-creatures. If every legiſlator ought to aim at the increaſe of his ſubjects, it is certainly running counter to that grand principle, to give too great encouragement to this multitude of

men

men and women, who are loſt to each ſtate, and who, as much as in them lies, engage by oath to deſtroy the human ſpecies. One could wiſh there were comfortable retreats for old age; but this inſtitution, the only one wanting, is the only one forgot. It is young people that fill the cloiſters. At an age in which no country permits them to have the management of their property, they are permitted to diſpoſe of their liberty for ever.

It cannot however be denied, but there are people of eminent virtue engaged in a monkiſh life. Moſt monaſteries contain ſome religious ſouls, that do honour to human nature. It has been the ſtudy of too curious inquirers, to expoſe the profligacy and vice with which theſe ſanctuaries have been defiled. There is no doubt but a ſecular life is naturally more ſubject to debauch; no doubt but in cloiſters feweſt crimes are committed; but it is true, that the vices of cloiſtered perſons are moſt taken notice of, becauſe of the contraſt between libertiniſm and a monaſtic rule. No ſtate of life whatever is always pure. However, on this occaſion, we are to conſider only the general good of ſociety. It is a pity, that the abilities of ſuch a number of men ſhould lie buried, and thoſe virtues loſt, which would have been of uſe to the world. The few monaſteries eſtabliſhed in the beginning did a great deal of good. This ſmall number, proportioned to the extent of each ſtate, would have commanded reſpect. The great multitude renders them cheap: hence prieſts, who were heretofore almoſt equal with biſhops, are now in compariſon, the ſame as the common people in regard to princes.

In this multitude of religious orders, the Benedictines always held the firſt rank. Amuſed with their power and riches, they ſcarce interfered at all with the ſcholaſtic diſputes in the ſixteenth century; they looked upon the other monks, with the ſame

eye as the ancient nobility view the new. The monks of Cluni, Citeaux, Clervaux, and a great many others, were young ſhoots of St Benedict's ſtock, who, in the days of Luther, had nothing remarkable but their opulence. The rich abbies of Germany, quiet in the enjoyment of their poſſeſſions, gave themſelves no concern about controverſy; neither had the Benedictines of Paris as yet employed their leiſure-hours in thoſe learned reſearches, by which they have ſince acquired ſo high a degree of reputation.

The Carmelites tranſplanted from Paleſtine into Europe in the fifth century, deſired nothing further, but that the world ſhould believe that Elias was their founder.

The Carthuſians, the only ancient order that never had need of being reformed, were founded at Grenoble towards the end of the eleventh century. Their number was ſmall, and their wealth too conſiderable for men retired from the world: but, notwithſtanding this wealth, they entirely conſecrated their time to faſting, to ſilence, to ſolitude, and prayer; perfectly quiet in the midſt of a tumultuous world, the noiſe of which ſcarce ever reached their ears; knowing their reſpective ſovereigns no otherwiſe than by the prayers, in which their names are inſerted. Happy, if ſuch pure and conſtant virtues could have been of any ſervice to the public!

The Premonſtratenſes, founded by St Norbert in 1120, did not make a great figure, and were ſo much the happier.

Of all the religious orders, the Franciſcans were the moſt numerous and moſt active. Francis of Aſſiſi, who founded this order in 1210, was in their eye a man ſuperior to humanity. They compared him to Chriſt, whom he ſurpaſſed in miracles, according to their account. It was indeed an amazing

zing prodigy, for the founder of this populous order, to multiply it to such a degree, that, in his own lifetime, there were 5000 deputies from the several convents, to the general chapter held in the neighbourhood of Assisi in 1219. And at this present time, though the Protestants have deprived them of a vast number, yet they have still 7000 houses of men under different names, and above 900 of women. At their late general chapters, they reckoned 115,000 men, and about 29,000 women: Intolerable abuse in countries where the human species has so visibly declined!

These men struck at every thing: they were preachers, divines, missionaries, mendicants, emissaries, running from place to place, and every where the declared enemies of the Dominicans. Their theological quarrel turned on the nativity of the mother of Christ. The Dominicans asserted, that she came into the world like other women, a slave to the devil; the Cordeliers pretended, that she had been exempt from original sin. The Dominicans thought they founded themselves on the opinion of St Thomas; the Franciscans on that of John Duns, a Scotchman, commonly called *Duns Scotus*, and known in his own time by the title of *the subtil doctor*.

The political quarrel between those two orders, was a consequence of the prodigious credit of the Dominicans.

The latter had been founded a little after the Franciscans: they were not so numerous, but had more power, because of the office of master of the sacred palace at Rome, which in St Dominic's time was settled on this order; and because of the courts of inquisition, over which these friars preside. Their generals for a long time had the nomination of the inquisitors all over Christendom. The Pope appoints them at present, but permits this office

fice to be held in the Dominican convent of the Minerva; and these fathers are still inquisitors of thirty-two tribunals in Italy, without reckoning those of Portugal and Spain.

In regard to the Austin friars, they were originally a congregation of hermits, to whom Alexander IV. gave a rule in 1254. Though the Pope's sacristan used to be always taken from their body, and though they possessed the privilege of preaching and selling indulgences; yet they were not so numerous as the Cordeliers, nor so powerful as the Dominicans; and they are scarce known to the lay world, but by having produced Martin Luther.

I omit a great number of different congregations; for in this general plan I have no time to review every regiment of the whole army. But the order of Jesuits, founded since Luther's time, merits our particular notice. The Christian world have exhausted themselves in saying all the good and bad they can of this society. It has extended itself to all parts, and in all parts it has enemies. Many are of opinion, that it is altogether a political institution; that the design of St Ignatius was to inslave the consciences of kings to his order, to render this society triumphant over the minds of the people, and to procure it a kind of universal monarchy.

Ignatius of Loyola, far from having any such views, was never in a condition to form them. He was an illiterate gentleman of Biscay, born with a romantic genius, fond of books of chivalry, and inclined to enthusiasm: he served in the Spanish army, while the French, in vain attempting to recover it out of the hands of its usurpers, had laid siege to the castle of Pampelona in 1521. Ignatius was then about thirty, and upon duty in the castle, where he was wounded. They gave him the lives of saints to read during his illness. This, together with a fancied vision, determined him to perform a pilgrimage

pilgrimage to Jeruſalem. From that time he devoted himſelf to a religious life. It is poſitively averred, that he paſſed ſeven days and ſeven nights without eating and drinking; which is almoſt incredible, but indicates a weak imagination, and a very robuſt conſtitution. As ignorant as he was, he preached about from village to village. The reſt of his adventures are well known; how he watched his arms, and became the knight of the bleſſed virgin; how he wanted to fight a Moor, who had ſpoken diſreſpectfully of her to whoſe ſervice he was devoted; and how he left the affair to the determination of his horſe, who took a different road from the Moor. Deſirous of preaching the goſpel among the Turks, he proceeded as far as Venice; but reflecting, that he did not underſtand Latin, a language however very uſeleſs in Turky, he turned back to commence his ſtudies at Salamanca at the age of thirty-three.

Here he was impriſoned by the inquiſition, for pretending to direct devout women, and making them turn pilgrims: but, upon the recovery of his liberty, he went to purſue his ſtudies at Paris. Finding himſelf in low circumſtances, and in a ſtrange country, he got acquainted with ſome of his countrymen, who were much in the ſame condition as himſelf. Theſe men entered into an aſſociation; and being afterwards joined by a few Frenchmen, they ſet out for Rome towards the year 1537, to preſent themſelves in a body to Pope Paul III. in the quality of pilgrims that intended to travel to Jeruſalem, and there to form a particular congregation. Ignatius and his companions had ſome virtues; they were diſintereſted, patient, and zealous. On the other hand, we muſt acknowledge, that he was fired with the ambition of being founder of an order. This kind of vanity, with which the deſire of domineering is apt to mingle, takes a deeper

deeper root in the human breaſt in proportion as the other paſſions are ſacrificed, and operates with greater efficacy when united with virtues. If Ignatius had not been actuated by that paſſion, he and his comrades would have entered the order of Theatins, founded by Cardinal Cajetan. In vain did the cardinal ſolicit him to be a member of this community; the ambition of being a founder hindered him from inliſting under any other commander.

The roads to Jeruſalem were dangerous; ſo that he was obliged to ſtay in Europe: but having learned a little grammar, he devoted his time to the inſtruction of children. His diſciples diſcharged this duty with great ſucceſs; but this very ſucceſs proved a ſource of uneaſineſs. The Jeſuits had rivals to combat whenever they were admitted members of an univerſity; and thoſe towns where they taught in competition with the univerſity, were a theatre of diſcord.

Though the deſire of inſtructing youth, however inſpired by charity, was productive of ſuch pernicious conſequences, the humility with which this founder and his people renounced all eccleſiaſtical preferments, is exactly the very thing that eſtabliſhed the grandeur of this order. Moſt ſovereigns took Jeſuits for their confeſſors, that they might not be tempted to give a biſhoprick for an abſolution: yet the poſt of confeſſor is oftentimes of more importance than an epiſcopal ſee. It is a ſecret miniſtry, whoſe power increaſeth in proportion to the weakneſs of the prince.

At length Ignatius and his companions, in order to obtain a bull of approbation from the Pope, at that time a very difficult matter, were adviſed to make, over and above the ordinary vows, a fourth, of obedience to the Pope; and it is this fourth vow which afterwards produced ſo many miſſionaries, who extend the religion and glory of the ſupreme

Pontiff to the moſt diſtant corners of the earth. In this manner a ſpirit, the wideſt in the world from politics, gave birth to the moſt political of all the monaſtic orders. In matters of religion, the foundation is generally laid by enthuſiaſm; but it is art and abilities that finiſh the building.

We have ſeen the Jeſuits directing the courts of Europe, poſſeſſed of high reputation in conſequence of their ſtudies, and of the inſtruction of youth, reforming the ſciences in China, converting Japan for a little while, and giving laws to the people of Paraguay. They are about 18,000 in number, diſperſed all over the world, all ſubject to one perpetual and abſolute general, and connected together entirely by their vow of obedience to a ſingle perſon. Their government is become the model of monarchy. They have poor and they have very rich houſes. Don John of Palafox, Biſhop of Mexico, wrote thus to Pope Innocent X. about 100 years after their foundation. *I have found almoſt the whole wealth of theſe provinces in the hands of the Jeſuits. Two of their colleges poſſeſs* 300,000 *ſheep, with ſix great ſugar-works, ſome of which are worth near a million of crowns. They have very rich mines of ſilver; mines ſo conſiderable, that they would be ſufficient to maintain an independent prince.* Theſe complaints, though perhaps exaggerated, ſeem to have ſome foundation.

This order was eſtabliſhed with great difficulty in France. And how could it be otherwiſe? It had its riſe and progreſs under the houſe of Auſtria, and by that ſame houſe it was protected. The Jeſuits, at the time of the league, were penſioners to Philip II. The reſt of the religious orders, who were all concerned in this faction, except the Benedictines and the Carthuſians, ſtirred up the fire no where but in France: the Jeſuits were blowing the coals

coals from Rome, from Madrid, from Bruſſels. But happier times extinguiſhed thoſe flames.

Nothing ſeems more contradictory than this public hatred, and this great regard for the ſame ſociety; that zeal with which they were baniſhed out of ſeveral countries, and honourably again reſtored; that prodigious number of enemies, and yet that popular favour. But there have been examples of the like contraſts in the mendicant orders. Amongſt a numerous ſociety, intent upon literature and religion, there will be always a great variety of members, ſome of a fiery reſtleſs diſpoſition, who make themſelves enemies; others men of learning, who acquire reputation; others of an inſinuating character, who form cabals; and others of a political caſt, who take advantage of the labours and of the multiform character of their fellow-members.

The fathers of the French oratory are of a modern inſtitution, and differ from all the orders. Theirs is the only congregation in which vows are not known, and where no repentance dwells. It is a voluntary retreat. The rich live at their own expence, and the poor at the expence of the houſe. They enjoy as much liberty as becomes men to have. In this congregation virtue is ſeldom diſgraced by ſuperſtition and low tricks.

Among all thoſe orders, there reigns an emulation, which has oftentimes broke out into external acts of jealouſy. A ſtrong averſion betwixt the black and white monks ſubſiſted for ſome ages. The Dominicans and the Franciſcans were of courſe divided, as already hath been obſerved. Each order ſeemed to rally under a different ſtandard. There is what we call the *eſprit du corps* that animates all ſocieties.

The inſtitutions ſet apart for the relief of the poor, and attendance on the ſick, have made leſs

ſhow, and yet are not leſs deſerving of our reſpect. Perhaps nothing in the world can be nobler than the ſacrifice which the fair ſex make of beauty and youth, and oftentimes of high birth, to employ their time at the hoſpitals in relieving thoſe miſerable objects, the ſight of which alone is humbling to our pride, and ſhocking to our delicacy. So generous a charity has been but imperfectly imitated by thoſe of a different communion from the church of Rome.

Indeed this uſeful congregation is the leaſt numerous. But there is another of a more heroic nature; for this name belongs to the Trinitarians of the redemption of captives, founded towards 1120, by a gentleman whoſe name was *John of Matha*. Theſe religious have employed themſelves theſe five centuries in breaking the chains of Chriſtian ſlaves among the Moors. They pay the ranſom of thoſe captives partly with their own revenues, and partly with the charitable donations which they collect, and carry over into Africa.

Of ſuch inſtitutions no body can complain; but the general objection is, that the monaſtic life robs the civil ſociety of too many of its members. The nuns eſpecially are dead to their country. The tombs in which they ſpend their days, are moſt of them very poor. A girl that works at her needle, or ſuch other employment ſuitable to her ſex, will earn more than the maintaining of a nun amounts to. The fate of theſe poor women may raiſe our pity, while the multitude of opulent monaſteries continues the object of envy. It is very evident, that too great a number of theſe women would depopulate a ſtate. The Jews, for this reaſon, had neither Eſſenians nor Therapeuts of the female ſex. There was no ſanctuary conſecrated to virginity in Aſia; the Japaneſe alone have the Bonzes: but who can tell whether they are abſolutely unſerviceable

able to the ſtate? There never were in ancient Rome more than ſix Veſtals; and even theſe might quit their retreat after a certain time, and marry.

Good policy ſeems to require, that there ſhould be no more than the neceſſary number of eccleſiaſtics for the ſervice of the altar, and the other purpoſes of religion. England, Scotland, and Ireland, have not 20,000. Holland, though it contains two millions of ſouls, has not 1000 conſecrated to the church: and beſides, as theſe are almoſt all married, they contribute to people their country, with ſubjects virtuouſly educated.

In France, they reckoned, towards the year 1700, above 250,000 eccleſiaſtics, ſeculars and regulars; which is a great deal more than the uſual number of troops. The ſecular clergy in the Pope's territories conſiſted of about 32,000, and the number of religious men and women amounted to 8000. This, of all Catholic countries, is where the ſecular clergy exceeds the regulars moſt in number: but to have 40,000 eccleſiaſtics, and not to be able to maintain 10,000 ſoldiers, is ſurely the way to continue a low ſtate.

France has more convents than all Italy together. The number of men and women immured in the ſeveral cloiſters in this kingdom, amounted to above 90,000 at the beginning of the preſent century. Spain has only about 50,000, if we can depend on the enumeration made in 1623 by Gonzales d' Avila: but this country is not half ſo populous as France; and ſince the emigration of the Moors and Jews, and the tranſplantation of ſo many Spaniſh families to America, it muſt be allowed that the religious houſes in Spain are a kind of mortality that inſenſibly deſtroys the nation.

In Portugal there are more than 10,000 religious of both ſexes. This is a country of much about

the same extent as the Pope's, and yet it contains a greater number of regulars.

In all kingdoms whatever, proposals have been made for restoring part of those citizens of whom the state is daily robbed by the religious houses. But those at the helm are seldom affected by a distant, though never so sensible advantage; especially when this future advantage is counterbalanced by present difficulties.

The religious orders are all enemies to this reformation. Each superior, who sees himself at the head of a little state, is desirous of increasing the number of his subjects; and even the monk, who pines at his confinement in a convent, oftentimes entertains a notion of the good of his order, preferring it to the real good of his country.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the inquisition.

A MILITIA of 100,000 monks and friars, fighting with spiritual arms under the standard of Rome, could not hinder one half of Europe from shaking off the yoke of that court; and the inquisition has had no other effect, than to deprive the Pope of more provinces, (witness the United Netherlands), and to stir up mischief in others, which ended in their misery.

The reader may remember, that in the wars against the Albigenses, and about the year 1200, Pope Innocent III. established this tribunal, which takes cognisance of human thoughts; and that, in contempt of the bishops, the natural judges in matters of doctrine, it was intrusted to the care of the Dominicans and the Cordeliers.

Those first inquisitors had the power of summoning

ing and excommunicating heretics, of granting indulgences to every prince that would exterminate them when condemned, of reconciling penitents to the church, of taxing their sins, and receiving sums of money by way of surety for their repentance.

Amongst the absurdities to which human affairs are liable, this of the most zealous enemy to the popes, becoming the most furious defender of that tribunal, is very remarkable.

Frederick II. accused by the Pope one time of being a Mahometan, another time of Atheism, imagined he should wipe off this reproach by taking the inquisitors under his protection. He even went so far as to publish four edicts at Pavia in 1244, whereby he laid an injunction on the magistrates to commit those to the flames whom the inquisitors should condem as obstinate heretics, and to imprison those for life whom this tribunal should declare repentant.

Notwithstanding this political step, Frederick II. was persecuted as much as before; and the popes aftewards turned the arms he had put into their hands, against the rights and privileges of the empire.

Pope Alexander III. established the inquisition in France in 1255, under St Lewis. The guardian of the Cordeliers at Paris, and the provincial of the Dominicans, were grand inquisitors. By the bull of Pope Alexander, they were to consult, but not to be dependent on the bishops. The giving of this strange jurisdiction to men, who, by vows, had renounced the world, set both clergy and laity against them. An inquisitor of the order of Cordeliers assisted at the trial of the Knights Templar: but the public were soon so dissatisfied, that those friars had nothing more left than an empty title.

In Italy, the popes had more credit; because, though disobeyed at Rome, from whence they had been

been long abſent, they were ſtill at the head of the faction of the Guelphs againſt the Gibbelines. They made uſe of this inquiſition againſt the partiſans of the empire. For, in 1302, Pope John XXII. made the monkiſh inquiſitors proceed againſt Matthew Viſconti, a Milaneſe nobleman, whoſe ſole crime was his attachment to the Emperor Lewis of Bavaria. The vaſſal's fidelity to his paramount was declared hereſy: the houſe of Eſte, as alſo that of Malateſta, were treated in the ſame manner, and for the ſame cauſe; and if the ſentence was not put in execution, it was becauſe at that time it was eaſier for the Pope to find inquiſitors than armies.

The more this tribunal gained ground, the more ſtrenuouſly it was claimed by the biſhops, who ſaw themſelves ſtripped of a privilege which ſeemed to belong to their order. The popes at length joined them in commiſſion with the monkiſh inquiſitors, who exerciſed a full authority almoſt in every ſtate of Italy; the biſhops being properly no more than their aſſeſſors.

Venice had received the inquiſition towards the end of the thirteenth century, in 1289: every where elſe it was dependent on the Pope; but in the Venetian dominions it became ſubject to the ſenate. The wiſeſt precaution they took was, that the fines and confiſcations ſhould not belong to the inquiſitors. They thought to moderate the zeal of thoſe men, by removing the temptation of enriching themſelves: but as the paſſion of pride and ambition is more preponderating with mankind than avarice; the reſtleſs ſpirit of the inquiſition obliged the ſenate a long time after, that is, in the ſixteenth century, to enact a law, That the inquiſition ſhould never proceed without the aſſiſtance of three ſenators. In conſequence of this regulation, and ſeveral others of equal good policy, the authority of this

this tribunal was in a manner aboliſhed at Venice, by being eluded.

One would have imagined, that the inquiſition would have been introduced with the greateſt eaſe, and ſettled in the firmeſt manner, in the kingdom of Naples; yet it never reached this ſpot. The ſovereigns of Naples and of Sicily, thinking themſelves intitled, in conſequence of Papal conceſſions, to the enjoyment of eccleſiaſtic juriſdiction; the Roman pontiff and the king were conſtantly diſputing who ſhould nominate the inquiſitors; which was the reaſon of their not being appointed; and the people, for the firſt time, benefited by the quarrel of their maſters. Yet there were always fewer heretics in Naples and Sicily than in other places. This religious tranquillity of thoſe kingdoms ſhews very plainly, that the inquiſition was not ſo much a rampart to religion, as a ſcourge invented for the diſturbance of mankind.

At length it was eſtabliſhed in Italy, after it had been received in Spain by Ferdinand and Iſabella in 1478: but in Sicily, rather more than in Caſtile, it was a privilege of the crown, and not a Roman tribunal; for in Sicily the king is pope.

It was long ſince the inquiſition got admittance into Arragon; there it languiſhed, as well as in France, without juriſdiction, without order, and almoſt forgot.

But it was not till after the conqueſt of Granada, that it exerted throughout the kingdom of Spain ſuch vigor and ſeverity as had been never obſerved in the uſual courts of juſtice. The Spaniards muſt at that time have had ſomething in their nature more ſevere and unrelenting than other nations. This appears by the barbarities which they ſo wantonly exerciſed in the new world; and eſpecially by the cruelties which they introduced into a juriſdiction, wherein the Italians, its inventors, behaved

ved with ſome lenity. The court of Rome had erected thoſe tribunals out of policy; but they became more odious by the barbarity of the Spaniſh inquiſitors.

After Mahomet II. had ſubdued Conſtantinople and Greece, both he and his ſucceſſors permitted the conquered to enjoy their religion in peace: and when the Arabians were maſters in Spain, they never compelled the Chriſtian natives of that country to embrace the Koran. But after the taking of Granada, Cardinal Ximenes, whether induced by religious zeal, or by the ambition of extending his primacy, would have all the Moors turn Chriſtians. This was an enterpriſe diametrically contrary to the treaty by which the Moors had ſubmitted; and it required ſome time to bring it to bear. But Ximenes would fain convert the Moors as quick as he had taken Granada. They were obliged to hear ſermons, they were perſecuted; they roſe up in arms, were quelled *, and forced to ſubmit to baptiſm. Ximenes obliged 50,000 Moors to take this ſign of Chriſtianity, though they did not believe a word of our religion.

The Jews were included in the treaty with the kings of Granada, but did not meet with more indulgence than the Moors. They were very numerous in Spain, where they followed the buſineſs of brokerage, as in all other countries. This profeſſion, far from giving any umbrage, is founded on peace. There are above 28,000 Jews tolerated by the Pope in Italy: and there are above 280 ſynagogues in Poland. The city of Amſterdam alone contains 15,000 Jews; though ſurely it can trade without them. The Jews did not ſeem to be more dangerous in Spain; and the taxes that might be laid on them, would have been ſure reſources to the government. It was therefore difficult to ac-

* 1499.

count,

count, by the maxims of sound policy, for the persecution they underwent.

The inquisition proceeded against the Jews and the Mussulmen. We have already observed, what a number of Mahometan and Jewish families chose rather to retire from Spain, than to be subject to the cruelty of this tribunal; which deprived Ferdinand and Isabella of a multitude of subjects. Surely there was least danger from those people, since they preferred to be fugitives rather than rebels. Those who staid behind pretended to be Christians. But the grand inquisitor Torquemada made Queen Isabella look upon all those sham Christians, as people that deserved to lose their lives and estates.

This Torquemada was a Dominican, and afterwards Cardinal: he settled the form of proceeding in the Spanish court of inquisition; a form contrary to all human laws, and which subsists notwithstanding to this very day. In fourteen years he brought near 80,000 men to their trial, and caused 6000 to be burnt with all the pomp and ceremony usual on the greatest solemnities. The accounts given us of people who sacrified human victims to the Deity, fall greatly short of the religious executions of the inquisition. Against those bloody rites the Spaniards did not conceive sufficient horror, because they were sacrificing their inveterate enemies, and the Jews. But they soon became victims themselves. For when Lutheranism began to spread, the few Spaniards suspected of embracing that doctrine, were made a sacrifice. The form of proceeding was an infallible way to destroy whomsoever the inquisitors pleased. The prisoners are not confronted with the informers; and there is no informer ever so base but they listen to: a public criminal, an infamous person, a child, a prostitute, are creditable witnesses; even a son may inform against his father, a wife against her husband. In short,

the

the priſoner is obliged to inform againſt himſelf, to gueſs, and to confeſs the crime he is ſuppoſed to be guilty of, and of which he is frequently ignorant. This ſtrange manner of proceeding ſtruck a terror into the whole kingdom of Spain. A general jealouſy and ſuſpicion took poſſeſſion of all ranks of people; friendſhip and ſociability were at an end. Brothers were afraid of brothers; fathers of their children. Hence ſilence is become the characteriſtic of a nation, endowed with all the vivacity natural to a warm and fruitful climate. The moſt cunning endeavoured to be bailiffs to the inquiſition, under the name of *familiars*, chuſing rather this ſervile office, than to be expoſed to ſuch cruelties.

To this tribunal we muſt likewiſe attribute that ignorance of ſound philoſophy in which Spain lies buried; while Germany, England, France, and even Italy, have diſcovered ſuch a multitude of truths, and enlarged the ſphere of knowledge. Never is human nature ſo debaſed, as when ignorace is armed with power.

Theſe dire effects of the inquiſition, are nothing when compared to thoſe public ſacrifices called *auto da fe*, (acts of faith), and to the barbarous cruelties that precede them.

Lo a prieſt in a white ſurplice, or a monk, who has vowed meekneſs and humility, cauſes his fellow-creatures to be put to the torture in a diſmal dungeon. A ſtage is erected in the public market-place, where the condemned priſoners are conducted to the ſtake, attended with a train of monks and religious confraternities. They ſing pſalms, ſay maſs, and butcher mankind. Were a native of Aſia to come to Madrid upon the day of an execution of this ſort, it would be impoſſible for him to tell, whether it was a rejoicing, a religious feaſt, a ſacrifice, or a maſſacre; and yet it is all this together. The kings, whoſe preſence alone in other

caſes

caſes is the harbinger of mercy, aſſiſt at this ſpectacle uncovered, lower ſeated than the inquiſitors, and behold their ſubjects expiring in the flames. The Spaniards reproached Montezuma with immolating his captives to his gods; what would he have ſaid, had he beheld an *auto da fe?*

Theſe executions are more rare at preſent. But reaſon, whoſe rays with difficulty pervade the darkneſs of fanaticiſm, has not as yet been able to aboliſh them.

The inquiſition was not introduced into Portugal till towards the year 1557, before this country became ſubject to Spain. At firſt it met with all the oppoſition its very name ought naturally to inſpire: but at length it forced its way; and now it is under the ſame form of government at Liſbon as at Madrid. The grand inquiſitor is nominated by the King, and confirmed by the Pope. The particular courts of this office, to which they gave the name of *Holy*, are ſubordinate, both in Spain and Portugal, to the tribunal of the capital. In both thoſe kingdoms, the inquiſition is diſtinguiſhed by the ſame ſeverity, and by the ſame zeal in extending its power.

In Spain, after the deceaſe of Charles V. they preſumed to ſeize on that Emperor's father confeſſor, Conſtantine Pontius: the poor man died in a dungeon, and his effigy was burnt after his death at an *auto da fe*.

In Portugal, John of Braganza, having reſcued his country from the Spaniſh yoke, was deſirous alſo of delivering it from the inquiſition: but he could do no more than deprive the inquiſitors of the confiſcated eſtates. After his deceaſe they declared him excommunicated; and the Queen his widow was obliged to deſire they would abſolve the dead corpſe. By this abſolution, equally ridicu-

lous and disgraceful, he was acknowledged to have been guilty.

When the Spaniards made settlements in America, they carried the inquisition along with them. And the Portuguese introduced it into the East Indies, after it had been authorised at Lisbon.

Every body knows of the inquisition of Goa. This jurisdiction in other countries is contrary to the law of nature, but at Goa it is repugnant to good policy. The Portuguese go to the East Indies merely for the sake of trade. Now, trade and the inquisition are incompatible. Were it to prevail at London, or at Amsterdam, those cities would neither be so populous nor so opulent. We find, that when Philip II. would fain establish it in the Netherlands, the interruption of commerce was one of the principal causes of the revolution of that country. France and Germany have been happily preserved from this scourge. They have indeed experienced religious wars; but wars must sometimes have an end, while the inquisition, when once established, becomes eternal.

It is not at all surprising, that so detestable a tribunal should have been charged with excesses of cruelty and insolence, which it never committed. We find in several writers, that this Constantine Pontius, confessor to Charles V. had been accused, before the holy office, with having dictated the Emperor's will, wherein there was not a sufficient number of pious legacies; that both the confessor and the will were condemned to be burnt; and at length that Philip II. could obtain no more, but that the sentence should not be executed on the will.

This whole story is evidently false. Constantine Pontius had not been confessor for some time to Charles V. when he was imprisoned; and that prince's will was too much respected by Philip II.

who

who had too great abilities and power to suffer the commencement of his reign, and his father's glory, to be thus dishonoured.

We read likewise in several books written against the inquisition, that the King of Spain, Philip III. assisting at an *auto da fe*, and seeing several of his subjects, Jews, Mahometans, and heretics, or suspected heretics, in the flames, he cried out, *Poor wretches indeed to suffer death, because they could not change opinion.* It is very probable, that a king might think thus, and that those words might have dropped from him. Only it is cruel he did not spare those whom he pitied. But they add, that those words having been carried to the grand inquisitor, he charged the King with them, and had the impudence to demand a reparation of the honour of the holy office; that the King was so mean as to submit; and that this reparation consisted in his being let blood, which the grand inquisitor ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. Philip III. was a shallow prince, but not so excessively weak. A story of this nature is not credible of any prince; it is related only in anonymous pieces, in the lives of the popes, and in those false memoirs printed in Holland under so many spurious titles. Besides, it must be very weak policy to calumniate the inquisition, and to try to wound her with the arms of falsehood and imposture. This tribunal, designed for the extirpation of heresy, is the very thing that keeps the Protestants at the greatest distance from the church of Rome. They view it as an object of horror; they would rather die than submit to it; so that the sulphureous shirts of the holy office are the standard against which they will ever unite.

Having thus run through whatever relates to religion, and reserving to later times the calamities of which it has been either the cause or pretence in France and in Germany; I come now to those a-

mazing discoveries, which at this time brought glory and riches to Portugal and Spain, embraced the whole globe, and rendered Philip II. the most powerful monarch in Europe.

CHAP. XX.

Of the discoveries of the Portuguese.

WE have hitherto taken a view of those men only, whose ambition engaged them to disturb the known part of the globe. At length human industry was directed to an inquiry after unknown lands and seas, by an ambition that seemed more useful, but afterwards proved not less pernicious to mankind.

Every body knows that the direction of the magnet to the north, which had lain so long concealed from the most learned nations, was discovered in the times of ignorance, towards the end of the thirteenth century. Not long after that, Flavio Goia, a native of Amalfi in the kingdom of Naples, invented the compass: he marked the touched needle with a flower-de-luce, because this ornament belonged to the arms of the kings of Naples, who were of the house of France.

This invention for some time was of no sort of service; for the verses which Faucet quotes to prove that they made use of the compass before 1300, are in all probability of the fourteenth century.

Towards the beginning of this very century, the Canary islands were found out without the assistance of the compass. Known by the name of the *Fortunate islands* at the time of Ptolomy and Pliny, they had been frequented by the Romans, who were masters of Africa Tingitana, from whence they are not

not very distant. But the declension of the Roman empire having cut off all communication betwixt the western nations, who became strangers to each other, the knowledge of those islands was lost. Lewis de la Cerda Prince of Spain, son of him who lost the throne, unable to obtain the Spanish diadem, applied to Pope Clement V. in the year 1306, for the title of *King of the Fortunate islands*; and as the popes of those days pretended to dispose of kingdoms, whether real or imaginary, Clement VI. crowned him King of those islands at Avignon. But la Cerda chose rather to stay in France, where he had taken shelter, than go over to the Fortunate islands.

The first who certainly made use of the compass, were the English, in the reign of Edward III. What little science still remained, was confined to monasteries. An Oxford Monk, named *Linna*, an able astronomer for those times, sailed as far as Iceland, and drew charts of the North seas, which were afterwards made use of in the reign of Henry VI.

But the grand and useful discoveries were not made till the beginning of the fifteenth century. Prince Henry of Portugal, Son of King John I. by whom those discoveries were commenced, gained greater glory than all his cotemporaries. He was a philosopher, and his philosophy consisted in doing good to mankind.

Within five degrees on this side of our tropic, a promontory runs into the Atlantic sea, which had been hitherto the term of known navigations; it was called *Cape Non*, a word which implied that no body could sail any further.

Prince Henry found pilots bold enough to double this promontory, and to advance as far as Cape Boyador, within two degrees of the tropic; but the pilots were daunted at this new promontory, which runs out to sea a hundred and twenty miles, envi-

roned with rocks, banks, and a tempestuous ocean. The Prince, whom nothing could discourage, sent others, who could not double it; but lanching far into the ocean upon their return, they found the isle of Madera *. This place was certainly known to the Carthaginians, had been falsely represented as an immense island, and, by another exaggerated account, had been taken by some moderns for America itself. They gave it the name of *Madera*, from its being covered with wood, which the word *Madera* implies in Portuguese, from whence the French have borrowed *Madrier* †. Prince Henry took care to have the island planted with Greek vines, and sugar-canes, from Italy and Cyprus, and originally brought by the Arabians from the East Indies. It is from those very canes, transplanted afterwards to the American islands, that all Europe is now supplied with sugar.

Prince Henry kept possession of Madera, but he was obliged to resign the Canaries to the Spaniards. These people had recourse to Lewis de la Cerda's right, and to the bull of Pope Clement V.

Cape Boyador had struck such a terror into all navigators, that for thirteen years not one of them would venture again to double it. At length Prince Henry's steadiness inspired them with courage ‡. They passed the tropic, and sailed near 400 leagues further, to Cape Verd ‖. By this perseverance they found the Cape Verd islands, and the Azores **. If it be true that here they saw upon a rock, the statue of a man on horseback, with his left hand on the horse's mane, and pointing to the west with his right, it is probable that this was a Carthaginian monument; which seems to be further corroborated by the inscription in unknown characters.

Almost the whole coast of Africa, so far as they

* 1419. † A thick plank or board.
‡ 1446. § 1460. ** 1461.

had

had surveyed, was subject to the emperors of Morocco, who extended their empire and religion through immense deserts from the streights of Gibraltar to the river of Senegal. But the country was very thinly peopled, and the inhabitants were not much above the degree of brutes. When the Portuguese had got beyond the river of Senegal, they were surprised to find the people of a jet black to the southward of this river, while they were ash-coloured to the north. These discoveries were at that time more curious than profitable. They had been obliged to send colonies to the islands; and the commerce of the western parts of Africa did not prove very beneficial. At length, under King John II. they found gold, in small quantities, on the coast of Guinea; and thence came the name of *Guineas*, by which word the English distinguished a coin made of gold from that country.

The Portuguese were the only people that had the glory of extending the limits of the earth; they passed the equator, and upon the discovery of the kingdom of Congo, they perceived a new heaven, and new stars.

Then it was that the Europeans, for the first time, saw the south pole and the four adjoining stars. It is very extraordinary that Dante should have taken notice of those four stars above 100 years before. *I turned towards my right hand*, says he, in the first canto of his Purgatory, *and I viewed the other pole: there I perceived four stars, which were never known before, except in the first age of the world.* This prediction seems much stronger than that of Seneca the tragedian, who in his Medea saith, *that the time will come when the ocean shall not separate nations, that a new Tiphis shall discover a new world, and that Thule will not be the utmost boundary of the earth.*

This vague notion of Seneca's is only a probable conjecture,

conjecture, founded on the progress that might be made in navigation; and Dante's prophecy has really no sort of relation to the discoveries of the Portuguese and Spaniards. The more this prophecy is clear, the less it is true. It is by mere chance that the south pole and these four stars are predicted in Dante. He spoke only in a figurative sense; for his poem is one continued allegory. By this pole he means the terrestrial paradise; these four stars, unknown to all but those of the first age of the world, are the four cardinal virtues, which disappeared with the days of innocence. Were we thus to scrutinize into most of the predictions contained in a number of books, we should find that never any thing was predicted; but that the knowledge of futurity appertains to the Deity alone, and to those whom he inspires.

Before that time it was not known whether the touched needle would point to the antarctic pole, upon drawing towards it. The direction proved constant to the north. The Portuguese sailed on to the most southern point of Africa *, where the stormy cape frightened them much more than that of Boyador; but the King still flattered himself to find beyond that cape a way for circumnavigating the continent of Africa, and for trading to the East Indies: from that time they called it *the Cape of Good Hope*; a name in which they were not deceived. King Emanuel, who inherited the generous designs of his ancestors, soon fitted out, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the whole kingdom of Portugal, a small fleet of ships, under the command of Vasco de Gama, who immortalized his name by this expedition.

Gama doubled the point of Africa †; and going up again through those unknown seas to the equator, he had not yet got beyond the tropic of Capri-

* 1486. † 1497.

corn,

corn, when, towards Sophala, he met with civilized nations, who spoke the Arabian tongue. From the latitude of the Canaries, as far as Sophala, every thing had appeared to him to be of a new species; men, brutes, and plants. Great was his surprise, when he again fell in with people who resembled those of the known continent. The Mahometan religion began to penetrate into that country; the Mussulmen travelling to the east of Africa, and the Christians going up again by the west, met one another at a corner of the earth.

At length, having found Mahometan pilots, within fourteen degrees of south latitude, he arrived at the kingdom of Calicut in the East Indies *, after a voyage of above 1500 leagues round the coast of Africa.

This voyage of Gama changed the commerce of the old world. Alexander, who by declamatory writers hath been considered only as a ravager, who founded nevertheless more cities than ever he destroyed, and who, notwithstanding his failings, well deserved the surname of *Great*; Alexander, I say, designed the city of Alexandria for the centre of commerce, and the bond of nations: and such it really was, under the Ptolomies, the Romans, and the Arabians. It was the staple of Egypt, of Europe, and the Indies. In the fifteenth century, Venice was almost the only town that imported the commodities of the East and South from Alexandria; and through her own industry, and the ignorance of other Christians, she enriched herself, at the expence of the west of Europe. Had it not been for Vasco de Gama's voyage, this republic would soon have become the principal power in Europe; but the navigation round the Cape of Good Hope diverted the source of her wealth.

Princes had hitherto waged war to extend their

* 1498.

territories;

territories; but now they fought to establish factories. So early as the year 1500, there was no getting any pepper at Calicut, but at the expence of human blood.

Alphonzo of Albuquerque, and a few other famous Portuguese captains, waged war successively against the Kings of Calicut, Ormus, and Siam, and defeated the Sultan of Egypt's fleet. The Venetians, as much interested as the Egyptians in opposing the progress of Portugal, proposed to the Sultan to cut the isthmus of Suez at their own expence, and to dig a canal which should join the Nile to the Red sea. By this undertaking they would have commanded the commerce of the Indies: but difficulties arising, this grand project proved abortive. In the mean time, Albuquerque took the town of Goa * on this side the Ganges, Malaca † in the Golden Chersonesus, Aden at the mouth of the Red sea, on the coast of Arabia Felix ‡, and, last of all, became master of Ormus in the Persian gulf ‖.

The Portuguese soon made settlements along the coast of the island of Ceylon, which produces the best cinnamon, and the finest rubies of the East. They had factories at Bengal, traded to Siam, and founded the city of Macao on the frontier of China. Their ships went to the eastern parts of Ethiopia, and the coasts of the Red-sea. They discovered and made a conquest of the Molucca islands, the only part of the world where nature has planted cloves. They were obliged to negotiate and to fight before they could establish those colonies; and carried on their commerce with sword in hand.

The Portuguese having discovered an extent of coast of 5000 leagues, in less than fifty years, were masters of the whole trade by the Ethiopic ocean and the Atlantic sea. Towards the year 1540, they

* 1510. † 1511. ‡ 1513. ‖ 1514.

had

had considerable settlements from the Moluccas as far as the Persian gulf, an extent of sixty degrees of longitude. All the products of nature which mankind set a value upon, either for use, rarity, or pleasure, were imported by this nation into Europe at a much cheaper rate than was possible for the Venetians. The voyage from the Tagus to the Ganges grew soon familiar; and the kings of Siam and Portugal were become allies.

CHAP. XXI.

Of Japan, and India.

THE Portuguese having settled themselves, as wealthy merchants, and as kings on the Indian coasts, and on the peninsula within the Ganges, at length sailed to the isles of Japan in 1538.

Of all the countries of the East, Japan is not the least deserving a philosopher's attention. This empire ought to have been known to Europe so early as the thirteenth century, by the travels of the celebrated Mark Paolo a Venetian. This man travelled to China by land: and having long bore arms under the sons of Gengis-kan, he had the first notions of those islands to which we give the name of *Japan*, and which he calls *Zipangri*. But though his cotemporaries used to swallow the absurdest fables, they would not give credit to the truths revealed by Paolo. His manuscript lay a long time in obscurity, till it fell at length into the hands of Christopher Columbus, and greatly contributed to confirm him in his hopes of discovering a new world, which should join the East and West. Columbus was only mistaken in his opinion, that Japan joined the western hemisphere.

This kingdom terminates our continent, as it is terminated

terminated by us on the oppoſite extremity. I cannot conceive why the Japaneſe were called *our antipodes in morals*; there are no ſuch antipodes among nations that cultivate the underſtanding. The predominant religion of Japan admits of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments. What they call the *divine commandments*, are the ſame as ours. Falſehood, incontinency, theft, murder, are equally prohibited; which is the law of nature digeſted into poſitive precepts. Hereto they add the precept of temperance, whereby ſtrong liquors of all kinds whatſoever are forbid; and the prohibition of killing is extended even to dumb creatures. Saka their legiſlator lived about 1000 years before our vulgar æra. Therefore the whole difference of morals between them and us, conſiſts in the prohibition of killing brute beaſts. It is true, they have many fabulous accounts: but in this they reſemble all nations, and particularly ourſelves, who knew nothing but the abſurdeſt fables, before the eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity. Their cuſtoms are different from ours; but ſo are thoſe of every oriental nation, from the ſtreight of the Dardanells to the further end of Corea.

As the grounds of morality are the ſame in all nations, ſo there is an uniformity in regard to ſome cuſtoms in civil life, eſtabliſhed all over the world. For inſtance, the Japaneſe viſit one another on new-year's day, and ſend preſents to each other, as in our parts of Europe. Friends and relations meet together on feſtivals or days of rejoicing.

But what is very extraordinary, their government has been, theſe 2400 years, entirely ſimilar to that of the Caliphs, and of modern Rome. The heads of their religion have held the ſovereignty of the empire longer in Japan than in any country in the world; for the ſucceſſion of their pontifical kings aſcends, without any ſort of doubt, 660 years beyond

beyond our æra. But the laity having gradually come in for a ſhare of the government, uſurped it at length entirely to themſelves, towards the end of the ſixteenth century, yet without daring to deſtroy either the family or name of thoſe pontiffs whoſe power they had invaded. The eccleſiaſtic Emperor, called *Dairi*, is an idol ſtill revered; and the crown-general, who is the real emperor, keeps him confined to an honourable priſon. This is what the Turks did at Bagdat, what the German emperors wanted to do at Rome, and what the Taicoſamas have effected in Japan.

Human nature, which in all countries is eſſentially the ſame, hath eſtabliſhed other reſemblances betwixt thoſe people and us. They believe in witchcrafts, a ſuperſtition in which we believed a long time. They have pilgrimages, and the ordeals or proofs by fire, which heretofore conſtituted part of our juriſprudence: in ſhort, they place their great men in heaven, after the manner of the Greeks and Romans. Their pontiff alone, like him of modern Rome, (if I may be allowed the compariſon), hath the privilege of making apotheoſes, and of conſecrating temples to men whom he judges deſerving of that honour. The clergy are in every reſpect diſtinct from the laity; and thoſe two orders of men have a thorough contempt for each other. For a long ſeries of years, they have had monks, hermits, and inſtitutions, not very different from our military orders: for there was an ancient ſociety of ſolitaries, who made a vow of fighting for religion.

And yet, notwithſtanding this inſtitution, which ſeemed to be the forerunner of ſuch civil wars as the Teutonic order of Pruſſia once produced in Europe, liberty of conſcience was eſtabliſhed in this empire, as well as in all other parts of the Eaſt. Japan was divided into ſeveral ſects, though under

a pontiff king; but all those sects agreed in the same principles of morality. Those who believed, and those who did not believe, in a metempsychosis, abstained, and do still abstain, from the flesh of all animals serviceable to man. The whole nation live upon fish and vegetables; in which they seem rather to act from a principle of temperance than of superstition.

The doctrine of Confucius has made a great progress in this empire. As the whole of it consists in plain morality, it has charmed the minds of all those who are not attached to the Bonzes, that is, of the most intelligent part of the nation. It is thought, that the progress of this philosophy has not a little contributed to demolish the power of the Dairi. The reigning emperor in 1700 had no other religion.

They seem to make a worse use of the doctrine of Confucius in Japan than in China. The Japanese philosophers look upon suicide as a virtuous action, when it does no injury to society. The proud and violent temper of those islanders is the cause that this theory is often put in practice, so as to render suicide a great deal more common here than in England.

Liberty of conscience, pursuant to the observation of that faithful and learned traveller Kempfer, had been always granted in Japan, as well as in most parts of Asia. Several foreign religions crept into that country. Thus, through the divine permission, a way was opened for the gospel in those extensive dominions. Every body must have heard of the vast progress it made in one half of this empire towards the close of the sixteenth century. The famous embassy of the three Japanese princes to Pope Gregory XIII. is perhaps the most flattering homage ever paid to the holy see. All this vast country, where now the gospel must be abjured, and

and where the Dutch alone are admitted, on condition of their not performing any act of religion, was very near being a Chriſtian, and perhaps a Portugueſe kingdom. Our prieſts were more reſpected there than with us; but now there is a very conſiderable reward for taking them, a reward of about 12,000 livres. The indiſcretion of a Portugueſe prieſt, who would not yield the precedency to one of the King's chief officers, was the firſt cauſe of this revolution. The next was the obſtinacy of ſome Jeſuits, who inſiſted too ſtrongly on their right, in refuſing to deliver up a houſe given them by a Japaneſe lord, and which that lord's ſon demanded back again. The third was the apprehenſion of being ſubdued by the Chriſtians; and this occaſioned a civil war. We ſhall ſee hereafter how Chriſtianity, which began with the goſpel, concluded with the ſword.

Let us confine ourſelves to the ſtate of Japan at this time, to that antiquity of which theſe people, as well as the Chineſe, boaſt ſo highly, to that ſeries of pontiffs which aſcends above ſix centuries higher than our æra. Let us particularly obſerve, that they are the only people of Aſia who were never conquered. The Japaneſe are compared to the Engliſh for that inſulary pride which is common to them both; and for ſuicide, which is thought to be ſo frequent in both thoſe extremities of our hemiſphere. But the iſles of Japan were never conquered; thoſe of Great Britain have been often. The Japaneſe do not appear to be a mixture of different nations, like the Engliſh, and almoſt all nations in this part of the globe. They ſeem rather to be aborigines. Their laws, their religion, their manners, and their language, have not the leaſt connection with China; and China, on the other hand, ſeems to have originally exiſted by itſelf, and not to have borrowed from other nations till very lately.

It is this great antiquity of the eaſtern nations that ſtrikes us. Theſe people, excepting the Tartars, never ſpread themſelves far from their own home; and behold, a nation, weak, confined, not populous, and hardly before taken notice of in the hiſtory of the world, ſends a ſmall fleet from the port of Liſbon, who diſcover theſe extenſive regions, and make ſuch noble ſettlements.

Never was there a trade more beneficial to Portugal than that of Japan. They imported annually from thence, according to the account given by the Dutch, 300 tuns of gold; and what the Dutch call a tun, is known to be 100,000 florins. This was exaggerating greatly. But it appears from the care which thoſe induſtrious and indefatigable republicans have ſince taken to ingroſs the commerce of Japan to themſelves, excluſive of other nations, that it muſt have been immenſely beneficial, eſpecially in the beginning. There they bought the beſt tea in Aſia, the fineſt porcelain, ambergreaſe, a copper of a ſuperior kind to ours; in a word, gold and ſilver, the principal end of all thoſe foreign enterpriſes. This country, like China, has almoſt every thing that we have, and almoſt every thing that we want. It is as populous in proportion as China, and the inhabitants are bolder and more warlike. All theſe people were heretofore much ſuperior to our weſtern nations in the arts of deſign and in mechanics. But how greatly have we recovered our loſt time! Thoſe countries where Bramante and Michael Angelo built St Peter's of Rome, where Raphael painted, where Newton aſcertained the laws of the univerſe, where Cinna and Athalia were written, are become the principal parts of the globe. Other nations are no more than barbarians or infants in the polite arts, notwithſtanding their antiquity, and all that nature hath done in their favour.

I shall take no notice here of the kingdom of Siam, which was not well known till the time when Lewis XIV. receiving an embassy from thence, sent missionaries and troops to their country, both of which proved alike unserviceable. Nor shall I make mention of the people of Tonquin, of Laos, and Cochinchina. Few of our adventurers have gone among them, and not till a long time after the first enterprises of the Portuguese; nor has our commerce ever properly extended to those parts.

In all those discoveries, the European powers, and the merchants, who enrich the state, had no other view than the increase of treasure. But philosophers have discovered a new world in morality and physics. The easy and open passage from all the ports of Europe to the remotest extremity of the Indies, gave an opportunity to the curious in our parts of the globe to see with their own eyes what they knew not before, or knew but very imperfectly from ancient precarious relations. What objects for men of reflection, to see on the other side of the river Zaira, whose banks are crouded with an infinite multitude of negroes, to see the wide-extended coasts of Caffraria, whose inhabitants are of an olive colour, and where the men cut off a testicle in honour of the Deity; while the Ethiopians, and so many other African nations, are satisfied with offering up part of their prepuces! From thence, going up again to Sophala, to Quiloa, to Montbasa, to Melinda, you find blacks of a different sort from those of Nigritia, whites and olive-coloured people who live together. All those countries are covered with animals and vegetables unknown to our climates.

In the middle of Africa there is a race, not very numerous, of little men as white as snow, who resemble negroes as to the form of their visage, and whose eyes are perfectly round, like those of a partridge,

tridge. Some of thoſe animals we have ſeen in France, and others are to be found in the eaſtern parts of Aſia.

The vaſt peninſula of India, which advances from the mouths of the Nile and Ganges as far as the middle of the Maldivian iſlands, is inhabited by twenty different nations, in manners and religion no way reſembling each other. The natives of the country are of a copper colour. In the iſle of Timor, Dampierre has ſince met with men of the colour of braſs; ſo great a variety is there in nature.

In the peninſula of India on this ſide the Ganges, there are multitudes of Banians, deſcendents of the ancient Brachmans, adhering to the old doctrine of a metempſychoſis, and to the ſyſtem of two principles, which is ſpread throughout all parts of India; living upon vegetable food; as obſtinate as the Jews in refuſing to intermarry with other nations; as ancient as that people, and as intent upon commerce.

It is in this country particularly that the cuſtom has ſubſiſted time immemorial, of encouraging the women to burn themſelves over the corpſes of their huſbands, in hopes to riſe again to life.

Towards Surat, Cambaya, and the frontiers of Perſia, were ſpread the Gebres, the remains of the ancient Perſians, who follow the religion of Zoroaſtres, and who do not intermarry with other nations, no more than the Banians or the Jews. In India were found ſome Jewiſh families, ſuppoſed to have been ſettled there ſince their firſt diſperſion. On the coaſt of Malabar lived a few Chriſtians of the ſect of Neſtorius, by miſtake called *St Thomas's Chriſtians*. They did not ſo much as know that there was a church of Rome. Having been heretofore ſubject to a patriarch of Syria, they ſtill acknowledged that phantom of a patriarch, who reſided, or rather hid himſelf at Moſul, which is ſaid

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to be the ancient Nineveh. This weak Syriac church, like thoſe of Antioch, Jeruſalem, and Alexandria, was buried, as it were, under its ruins, by the Mahometan power. The Portugueſe introduced the Roman-Catholic religion into thoſe parts, and founded an archbiſhoprick at Goa, which became at the ſame time a metropolitan and capital. They wanted to reduce the Chriſtians of Malabar to the obedience of the holy ſee; but they could never ſucceed. To convert the ſavages of America, has been no difficult taſk; but to reconcile the churches ſeparated from Rome, all endeavours have ever proved fruitleſs.

When from Ormus the Portugueſe advanced towards Arabia, they met with diſciples of St John, who had never known any thing of the goſpel. Theſe are the people we call *Sabeans*.

But after they had penetrated by the eaſtern ocean from India to China and Japan, and came to live in the inland parts of the country, the manners, religion, and cuſtoms of the Chineſe, the Japaneſe, and the people of Siam, became more known to us than thoſe of our neighbouring nations in barbarous ages.

The difference between the eaſtern cuſtoms and ours, as great as that between our languages, is an object worthy a philoſopher's attention. The moſt poliſhed nations of thoſe immenſe countries have nothing like our refinements. Their arts are not like ours; their food, raiment, houſes, gardens, laws, worſhip, ceremonies, are all different from ours. Can there be any thing more contrary to our cuſtoms than the manner in which the Banians carry on their commerce in Indoſtan? Contracts of the greateſt conſequence are concluded without ſpeaking, or writing; the whole is done by ſigns. But why ſhould not ſuch a number of oriental cuſtoms be different from ours? Nature is not the

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ſame in their climates as in Europe. In the ſouthern parts of India, they are marriageable at ſeven or eight years of age; and ſuch ſort of marriages are very common. Thoſe very children beget others, and enjoy their full proportion of reaſon, at a time when ours ſcarce begins to dawn.

All thoſe different nations reſemble us only by their paſſions, and by that univerſal reaſon which ſerves as a counterpoiſe to thoſe paſſions, and imprints the following law in every breaſt, *Avoid doing to others what thou wouldſt not have done to thee.* Theſe are the two characters which nature impreſſes in ſuch a number of different men, and the two eternal bonds by which they are connected. All beſides is the fruit of the ſoil and cuſtom. There you might ſee the city of Pegu, guarded by crocodiles which ſwim in ditches full of water. Here you might behold Java, where women mount guard at the King's palace.

At Siam the poſſeſſion of a white elephant conſtitutes the glory of the kingdom. At Malabar there is no wheat. They have no ſuch thing as bread or wine in all the iſlands. In one of the Philippines there is a tree, whoſe fruit reſembles the beſt-taſted bread. In the Marian iſlands they did not know the uſe of fire.

True it is, that we ought to be very circumſpect in giving credit to relations from thoſe diſtant countries. They are more intent upon ſending us merchandiſes than truth from the coaſt of Malabar. A particular caſe is oftentimes taken for a general cuſtom. We are told, for inſtance, that at Cochin the King is not ſucceeded by his own, but by his ſiſter's ſon. This is too flat a contradiction of nature. There is no man that would exclude his ſon from his inheritance. And if this king of Cochin has no ſiſter, who muſt the crown go to? Probably ſome time or other, upon the death of a king, his

his ſon, for want of aid and advice, happened to be excluded from the throne by an artful nephew; and a traveller may have taken this accident for a fundamental law. A hundred hiſtorians copy this traveller, and the error gains credit.

Authors who have lived in India pretend, that no body is poſſeſſed of any property in the territories of the Great Mogul: which is ſtill more againſt nature. Thoſe very writers aſſure us, that they have traded with Indians, who were worth a great many millions of livres. Theſe two aſſertions ſeem to contradict each other. We ſhould have ever preſent to our minds, that the northern conquerors extended the cuſtoms of feudal tenures from Lombardy as far as India. Would a Banian, that travelled into Italy at the time of Aſtolphus and Albuinus, have reaſon to affirm, that the Italians were poſſeſſed of no property? We cannot too often explode the ſhocking notion, that there are countries where millions inceſſantly toil for one.

The ſame miſtruſt we ought to have of thoſe who tell us of temples conſecrecated to luſt. Let us ſuppoſe an Indian ſhould happen to ſee a few ſcandalous pranks of our monks; ought he to infer from thence, that this is their inſtitution and rule?

But what moſt deſerves our attention is, to ſee almoſt all thoſe nations poſſeſſed with the opinion, that their gods uſed often to deſcend upon earth. Viſnou metamorphoſed himſelf nine times in the peninſula within the Ganges; and Sammonocodom, the god of Siam, aſſumed fifty times an human form. This idea they have in common with the ancient Ægyptians, with the Greeks, and Romans. An error ſo raſh, ſo ridiculous, and ſo univerſal, has its ſource notwithſtanding from a rational ſentiment imprinted in every breaſt. Mankind are naturally ſenſible of their dependence on the Supreme Being; and as error generally mixes with truth, they have been

been made to look upon the gods almoſt in every part of the world, as great lords, who ſometimes come to viſit and reform their dominions. Among ſuch a multitude of nations, it has fared with religion as with aſtrology; both are prior to hiſtorical times; and both a mixture of truth and impoſture. The firſt obſervers of the real courſe of the ſtars attributed falſe influences to thoſe heavenly bodies: and the founders of foreign religions, at the ſame time that they acknowledged the Deity, contaminated this worſhip with ſuperſtition.

Of all thoſe different religions, there is not one whoſe principal object is not the expiation of ſin. Mankind have been ever ſenſible that they have need of mercy. This is the original of the frightful macerations to which the Bonzes, the Bramins, and the Faquirs devote their days. But thoſe voluntary tortures, deſigned to draw down mercy upon a ſinful world, are turned into a lucrative trade.

I ſhall not enter into their particular cuſtoms; the diſcuſſion would be immenſe: but there is one ſo extremely repugnant to our manners, that I cannot avoid making mention of it, namely, that of the Bramins, who carry the *Phallum* of the Ægyptians, or the *Priapus* of the Romans, about in proceſſion. Our notions of decency incline us to think, that a ceremony, in appearance ſo infamous, was the offſpring of luſt: but it is hardly credible, that the invention of religious ceremonies ſhould have been owing in any nation to a depravity of manners. On the contrary, it is probable that this cuſtom was introduced in the times of ſimplicity, and that the intent thereof was to honour the Deity in this ſymbol of life. Such a ceremony muſt have afterwards inſpired young people with licentious thoughts, and appeared ridiculous to men of judgment, when the people were grown more refined, more corrupt, and more knowing. But the ancient

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uſage has ſtill ſubſiſted, notwithſtanding the abuſes; and there is hardly any nation but has retained ſome ceremony or other, which they can neither approve nor aboliſh.

Amidſt ſuch a multitude of extravagant opinions, and whimſical ſuperſtitions, who could imagine, that all thoſe Pagans in India do acknowledge, as well as ourſelves, a being infinitely perfect? that they call him *the being of beings, the ſupreme, the inviſible, the incomprehenſible; the being without figure; the creator, and preſerver; the juſt and merciful, who delights in communicating himſelf to mankind, in order to lead them to eternal felicity?* Theſe notions are contained in the Vedam, the book of the ancient Brachmans; and ſcattered alſo in the writings of the modern Bramins.

One of the Daniſh miſſionaries on the coaſt of Tranquebar, who was a man of learning, quotes abundance of paſſages, and forms of prayer, that ſeem to have been dictated by right reaſon, and perfect holineſs. The following is taken from a book intitled, *Varabadu. O ſupreme of all beings, Lord of heaven and earth, I do not contain thee within my breaſt. Before whom ſhall I bewail my miſery, if thou abandoneſt me, thou to whom I owe my ſupport, my preſervation? Without thee I cannot live. Call me, O Lord, that I may go towards thee.*

And yet, notwithſtanding ſo ſage and ſublime a doctrine, the meaneſt and moſt abſurd ſuperſtitions prevail ſtill in that country: a contradiction which too often appeareth in human nature. The Greeks and Romans had the ſame idea of a ſupreme being; yet they added ſuch a multitude of ſubaltern deities, and the people paid ſuch ſuperſtitious worſhip to thoſe deities, ſtifling truth ſo greatly with fable, that it was no longer poſſible to diſtinguiſh what was deſerving of reſpect, and what of contempt.

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We shall not lose time in inquiring into the multitude of sects diffused over India. The subdivisions of error are but too numerous. Besides, it is probable that our travellers have sometimes mistaken different rites for different sects: and it is easy to fall into this mistake. Each college of priests in ancient Greece and Rome had particular ceremonies and sacrifices. They did not pay the same worship to Hercules as to Apollo, nor to Juno as to Venus; and yet all those different worships belonged to the same religion.

Our western nations have, through all these discoveries, greatly excelled the orientals in genius and courage. We have made settlements in their country, and oftentimes against their will. We have learned their languages; and taught them some of our arts. Still nature hath given them one advantage over us, equal to all ours; it is, that they do not want us, but we them.

CHAP. XXII.

Of Æthiopia or Abyssinia.

BEFORE this time our European nations had no other knowledge of Æthiopia than by name. It was under the celebrated John II. King of Portugal, that Don Francisco d'Alvarez first found his way to those immense regions, situated between the tropic and the equator, of such difficult access by sea. There he found the Christian religion, not as established with us, but as practised by the first Jews who embraced Christianity, before the two rites were entirely separated. This mixture of the two religions has continued to this very day in Æthiopia. Circumcision and baptism obtain alike; the Christian and Jewish Sabbath are equally observed; the

the prieſts are allowed to marry; every body may be divorced; and polygamy is in uſe with them as with all the oriental Jews.

Don Franciſco Alvarez was the firſt who learned the ſource of the Nile, and the cauſes of the regular inundations of that river; two articles unknown to all antiquity, and even to the Ægyptians.

The narrative written by this Alvarez, was long among the liſts of obſcure truths; and from that time there has been a numerous croud of authors conſtantly echoing the eſtabliſhed errors of antiquity, and ringing in our ears, that it is impoſſible ever to trace the Nile to its fountain-head. They gave the name of *Preſter John* to the Negus or King of Æthiopia, without any other reaſon, but becauſe he ſaid he was deſcended from the race of Solomon, by the Queen of Sheba; and that, even ſince the cruſades, it had been affirmed, that a Chriſtian king would be diſcovered in ſome part of the world, whoſe name was *Preſter John*. Yet the Negus was neither a Chriſtian nor a prieſt.

The whole fruit of the voyages into Ethiopia conſiſted in an embaſſy from the King to Pope Clement VIII. The country was poor, though abounding with ſilver mines. The inhabitants, leſs induſtrious than the Americans, knew neither how to work thoſe mines, nor to make uſe of the treaſure which the earth abundantly furniſhed for the real wants of man.

Agreeable to this, we meet with a letter from David Negus of Æthiopia to the Portugueſe governor of India, begging for workmen of every kind. This indeed was very poor. Three fourths of Africa, America, and the northern parts of Aſia, laboured under the ſame poverty. In the midſt of the luxurious opulence of our towns, we are apt to imagine, that the reſt of the world are like ourſelves; not reflecting, that mankind lived a long

time like other animals, with hardly food and raiment, in the midſt of gold and diamond mines. So weak was this boaſted kingdom of Æthiopia, that a petty Mahometan prince, poſſeſſed of a neighbouring province, made almoſt an entire conqueſt of it, in the beginning of the ſixteenth century. We have ſtill the famous letter from John Bermudes to Don Sebaſtian King of Portugal, whereby we may be convinced, either that the Æthiopians are not the invincible nation mentioned by Herodotus, or that they have greatly degenerated. This Latin patriarch, with a few Portugueſe ſoldiers, protected the young Negus of Abyſſinia againſt the Mooriſh king, who had invaded his dominions. But unluckily, when the great Negus was reſtored, the Cardinal ſtill would fain protect him. He was his godfather; as ſuch, and as patriarch, he looked upon himſelf as his maſter. He therefore ordered him to pay obedience to the Pope, threatening to excommunicate him in caſe of a refuſal. Alphonſo of Albuberque did not behave more haughtily towards the petty princes of the peninſula within the Ganges. But at length the godſon, reſtored to his golden throne, ſhewed very little reſpect to his godfather; for he drove him out of his dominions, and refuſed to acknowledge the Pope.

This Bermudes pretends, that, on the frontiers of the country of Damut, between Abyſſinia and the lands bordering on the ſource of the Nile, there is a ſmall territory, in which the ſubterraneous matter is two thirds gold. This is what the Portugueſe went in ſearch of, and what they have not yet found. This is the principle of all their voyages; the patriarchs were only a pretence. It is likely, that the middle part of Africa contains a vaſt quantity of this metal, which has put the whole world into motion. The golden ſands that roll down its rivers, plainly prove, that there muſt be a mine in the

the mountains. But hitherto this mine has escaped the researches of the avaritious: and, in consequence of the efforts made in America and Asia, we are rendered less capable of any attempt in the middle of Africa.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of Columbus, and America.

TO those discoveries of the Portuguese in the old world, we owe our knowledge of the new, if the conquest of America is any obligation, which proved so fatal to the natives, and even to the conquerors themselves sometimes.

This is, without doubt, the most important event that ever happened on our globe, one moiety of which had been hitherto strangers to the other. All the great transactions of history appear as trifles, when compared to this species of new creation. We pronounce the names of the Argonauts with respect and admiration, though they performed a hundred times less than the sailors under Gama and Albuquerque. What a multitude of altars would not the ancients have erected to a Greek that had discovered America? But Christopher and Bartholomew Columbus had not these honours paid them.

Columbus, struck with the enterprises of the Portuguese, took it into his head that some grander project might still be formed; and merely by looking on a map of our part of the world, he concluded there must be another, which might be found by steering always westward. His courage was equal to his genius, and greater, as he had to struggle with the prejudices of all his cotemporaries, and with the repulses of so many princes. Genoa, his

native country, treated him as a visionary, and thereby lost the only opportunity of aggrandizing herself that could ever offer. Henry VII. of England, a prince more greedy after money than capable of engaging in so noble an enterprise, would not listen to Columbus's brother. Columbus himself met with a repulse in Portugal from John II. whose views were entirely directed towards Africa. He could make no application to France, the marine having been always neglected in that kingdom, and affairs being in as great confusion as ever under the minority of Charles VIII. The Emperor Maximilian had neither ports nor money to fit out a fleet, nor courage to imbark in so grand an undertaking. Venice might have attempted it: but whether the aversion of the Genoese against the Venetians would not permit Columbus to apply to his country's rival; or whether the Venetians had no notion of any other trade than that of Alexandria and the Levant, Columbus's only hopes were reduced to the court of Spain.

Ferdinand King of Arragon, and Isabella Queen of Castile, had united all Spain by marriage, excepting the kingdom of Granada, still in the hands of the Mahometans, but wrested from them not long after by Ferdinand. The match between Isabella and Ferdinand paved the way for the greatness of Spain. Columbus began it; yet he had been eight years soliciting before Isabella's court would come into so beneficial a scheme, proposed by a citizen of Genoa. The greatest projects are often disconcerted for want of money. The court of Spain was poor. The prior Perez, and two merchants of the name of *Pinzono*, were obliged to advance 17,000 ducats, for defraying the expence of the fleet. Columbus having obtained a patent from the court, at length set out from the port of Palos in Andalusia, with three small ships *.

* August 23. 1492.

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He put into the Canaries, whence he was but three and thirty days sailing to the first island in America. During this short passage, he suffered more by the murmurings of his crew, than by the denials he had received from the princes of Europe. This island, about a thousand leagues distant from the Canaries, was named *San Salvador*. Soon after he discovered the rest of the Bahama islands, with Cuba and Hispaniola, now called *St Domingo*. Ferdinand and Isabella were greatly surprised to see him return at the expiration of nine months, bringing with him Americans from Hispaniola, some rarities of the country, and especially presents in gold *. Their Majesties made him sit down uncovered like a grandee of Spain, and appointed him high admiral and viceroy of the new world. Every body looked upon him as an angel dropt from heaven. There was a general emulation who should engage in the undertaking, or sail under his command. He sets out with a new fleet of seventeen ships †, and discovers more islands, *viz.* the Caribbees and Jamaica. After his first voyage, the public doubt was changed into admiration; after his second, their admiration turned into envy.

He was admiral and viceroy, and to these titles he might add that of benefactor of Ferdinand and Isabella. Yet he was brought back to Spain, as a criminal, by persons appointed to watch over his conduct. The people hearing that Columbus was coming, ran to meet him as the tutelary genius of Spain. How great their surprise to see him in fetters!

This treatment was shewn him by order of Fonseca Bishop of Burgos, who had the fitting out of the squadron. Such ingratitude was equal to Columbus's services. Isabella was ashamed; and repaired the affront to the best of her power: yet he

* March 15. 1493. † 1493.

was detained four years longer; whether through fear left he ſhould ſeize on the diſcovered countries for himſelf, or they only wanted time to inquire into his conduct. At length he was ſent once more to the new world *. It was in this third voyage that he ſaw the continent, within ten degrees of the equator, and deſcried the coaſt where afterwards was built Carthagena.

At the time when Columbus promiſed a new hemiſphere, he was told that it was impoſſible this new hemiſphere ſhould exiſt; and after he diſcovered it, they pretended it had been known a long time before. I wave mentioning one Martin Behem of Nurenberg, who, they ſay, went from Nurenberg to the ſtreight of Magellan in 1460, with a patent from the Ducheſs of Burgundy; for as there was no reigning ducheſs at that time, ſhe could grant no ſuch patent. Nor ſhall I take notice of the maps pretended to have been drawn by this Martin Behem, nor of the contradictions which diſcredit this fable. But, after all, this Martin Behem did not people America. The honour was attributed to the Cathaginians; in proof of which they quoted a book of Ariſtotle's, which that philoſopher never compoſed. Some there were, who fancied they found a conformity between the Caribbee language and the Hebrew, and did not fail to follow ſo fine a chace. Others pretended to know, that Noah's children having ſettled in Siberia, travelled over to Canada upon the ice, and that the poſterity of thoſe who were born in Canada went and peopled Peru. According to others, the Chineſe and the Japaneſe ſent colonies into America, who carried lions with them for their amuſement, though there are no lions either in Japan or China. Thus have mankind often reaſoned, on the fancies and inventions of men. You want to

* 1498.

know

know who is it that peopled America? Might not I say, it is he that makes the trees and the grass to grow?

The answer which Columbus gave to his enemies, is famed in story. Nothing, they said, was more easy than his discoveries. He proposed to the company to make an egg stand of an end; and none of them having been able to compass it, he broke one end, and it stood directly. This is extremely easy, said the standers by: and why did not you think of it? replied Columbus. The story is told also of Brunelleschi, who reformed the taste of architecture at Florence, long before Columbus's time. Most witty sayings are only a repetition of what has been said before.

Columbus's ashes are no longer sensible of the glory he enjoyed in his lifetime for doubling the works of the creation. But mankind love to do justice to the dead; whether they flatter themselves with the vain hopes of being a means to obtain it for the living, or whether it be owing to a natural love of truth. Americus Vespusius, a merchant of Florence, had the honour of giving his name to one half of the globe, where he was not master of one inch of land; he pretends to have been the first who discovered the continent. Even were it true that he had made this discovery, still the honour would not have been his; but must certainly belong to the person who had the genius and courage to undertake the first voyage. The honour, as Newton says in his dispute with Leibnitz, is due only to the inventor: those who come after him, are no more than disciples. Columbus had made three voyages already as admiral and viceroy, five years before Americus Vespusius undertook one as geographer, under the command of Admiral Ojeda: but happening to write to his friends in Tuscany, that he had discovered the new world, they believed him upon

upon his bare word; and the citizens of Florence ordained that every year, upon the feaſt of All Saints, there ſhould be a grand illumination before his houſe during three days. Surely this man merited no honours, for happening, in 1498, to be on board a ſquadron which ſailed along the coaſt of Braſil, when Columbus five years before had ſhewn the way to all the world.

The life of this Americus Veſpuſius has been lately publiſhed at Florence, in which the writer does not ſeem to have paid any great regard to truth, or to have reaſoned juſtly. He complains of French authors, who have done juſtice to Columbus. He ſhould not have laid the blame on the French, but on the Spaniards, who were the firſt that did him this juſtice. He ſays, that he intends *to confound the vanity of the French nation, who have always attacked the glory and fortune of the Italians with impunity.* What vanity is there in ſaying, that it was a Genoeſe who firſt diſcovered America? What injury is done to the glory of Italy, in acknowledging that we are indebted to a native of Genoa for the diſcovery of the new world? I deſignedly take notice of this want of juſtice, politeneſs, and good ſenſe, of which there are but too many inſtances; and muſt obſerve, that in general the French writers of reputation are they who have been leaſt guilty of this intolerable defect. One reaſon of their being read in all parts of Europe, is their doing juſtice to all nations whatever.

The inhabitants of the iſles and continent of America, were a new ſpecies of men, who had no beards. They were as much amazed at the phyſiognomy of the Spaniards, as at their ſhips and artillery: at firſt they looked upon thoſe new gueſts as monſters, or gods, who came from heaven or from the ocean. We had learned at that time, by the voyages of the Portugueſe, what a ſmall ſpot

Europe

Europe is, and how great a variety is ſpread over the face of the earth. We had diſcovered that there are a ſpecies of olive-coloured men in India. Negroes of ſeveral ſorts were found in Africa and in Aſia far enough from the equator; and when our adventurers had penetrated into America, juſt under the line, they perceived that the people there are tolerably white. The natives of Braſil are of the colour of braſs. The Chineſe ſeem to be quite a different ſpecies by the conformation of their eye and noſe. But what is more remarkable, into whatever country thoſe men are tranſplanted, they never change, except they mix with the natives of the country. The mucous membrane of the negroes, which is known to be black, and the cauſe of their colour, evidently proves that in every breed of men, as in plants, there is a certain principle by which they are differenced.

Nature has ſubordinated to this principle thoſe different degrees of genius, and thoſe national characters which ſo ſeldom vary. It is this that renders the negroes ſlaves to the reſt of mankind. They are purchaſed on the coaſt of Africa like beaſts of burden, and whole multitudes tranſplanted to our American colonies, where they live in ſervitude under a ſmall number of Europeans. Experience has likewiſe ſhewn what a ſuperiority theſe Europeans have over the Americans, who were ſo eaſily conquered, and, though a thouſand to one, have never attempted to recover their liberty.

This part of America was further remarkable for ſundry animals and vegetables, which the other three parts of the world have not, and for wanting what we have. Horſes, all kinds of grain, and iron, were the principal things which Mexico and Peru did not produce. Among the commodities unknown to the ancient world, cochineal was one of the moſt valuable, and one of the firſt imported from

from thence: it eclipſed the ſcarlet grain which was uſed, time immemorial, in dying the fineſt red.

To the importation of cochineal they ſoon added that of indigo, cocoa, vanilla, ornamental or medicinal woods; and laſt of all the bark, the only ſpecific againſt intermitting fevers, by nature planted among the mountains of Peru, while ſhe has ſpread the poiſon over the reſt of the world. This new continent is likewiſe poſſeſſed of pearls, coloured ſtones, and diamonds.

Certain it is, that America furniſhes at preſent, even the meaneſt inhabitants of our part of the world, with conveniencies and pleaſures. The gold and ſilver mines were of no uſe at firſt but to the kings of Spain, and the merchants. Every body elſe was thereby impoveriſhed; for the multitude of people who carry on no traffic, found they had but very little ſpecie, compared to the immenſe ſums that filled the coffers of thoſe who benefited by the firſt diſcoveries. But by degrees that vaſt plenty of gold and ſilver which flowed in from America to Europe, has paſſed into a greater number of hands, and by circulation has been more equally diſtributed. The price of proviſions has riſen all over Europe very near in the ſame proportion.

In order to comprehend, for inſtance, in what manner the treaſures of America ſhifted from the hands of the Spaniards to other nations, it will be ſufficient here to conſider two things; the uſe which Charles V. and Philip II. made of their money; and the manner in which other nations came in for a ſhare of the Peruvian mines.

Charles V. Emperor of Germany, ever travelling or waging war, could not avoid ſending a vaſt quantity of ſpecie into Germany and Italy, which he received from Peru and Mexico. When his ſon Philip went over to London, in order to marry

Queen

Queen Mary, and to take upon him the title of *King of England*, he lodged seven and twenty large chests of bullion in the tower, together with a hundred horse load of gold and silver specie. The troubles of Flanders, and the intrigues of the league in France, cost this same Philip, by his own confession, above three thousand millions of livres.

In regard to the manner in which the gold and silver circulate among the other nations of Europe, and from thence are for the most part conveyed to the East Indies, it is a public, and yet amazing affair. A severe law was enacted under Ferdinand and Isabella, confirmed afterwards by Charles V. and by all the succeeding kings of Spain, whereby all other nations are precluded, not only from any entrance into the ports of Spanish America, but even from any share, though indirect, in this commerce. One would have imagined, that such a law would have enabled Spain to conquer Europe; and yet Spain subsists merely by a perpetual violation of this very law. Of the commodities exported to America, she is hardly able to furnish to the value of four millions of livres, while the rest of Europe contributes sometimes above fifty millions. This prodigious trade of nations, either in friendship or at war with Spain, is transacted in the name of the Spaniards themselves, ever faithful to their correspondents, and faithless to their king, whose interest it is to be deceived. The Spanish merchants give no acknowledgment under their hand to foreigners; the only security is honesty and plain dealing, without which no trade can ever be conducted.

The manner in which they long carried on the practice of consigning this American gold and silver to foreigners, was still more extraordinary. The Spanish merchant at Cadiz, who is properly factor to the foreigner, used to deliver the bullion to fellows known by the name of *meteors*. These men, armed

armed with ſwords and piſtols, took the bars or ingots, all told out, to the ramparts, and flung them over to other meteors, who carried them to the boats that were waiting for them on the key; and from the boats they were put on board the ſhips that lay in the bay. Theſe meteors, theſe factors, theſe cuſtomhouſe-officers and guards that never diſturbed them, had every one their particular pay, and the foreign merchant was never cheated. The King having received his indulto upon this treaſure as ſoon as the galleons arrived, was likewiſe a gainer. The law alone, to ſpeak with propriety, was deceived; a law whoſe uſe conſiſts in the violation of it; yet not repealed, becauſe ancient prejudices are moſt ſtrongly rivetted in the human mind.

The moſt extraordinary inſtance of the violation of this law, and of the fidelity of the Spaniards, appeared in 1684. War was declared betwixt France and Spain. His Catholic Majeſty wanted to ſeize on the effects of the French. In vain did he employ edicts and monitories, inquiries and excommunications; not one Spaniſh commiſſioner would betray his French correſpondent. This example of fidelity, ſo honourable to the Spaniſh nation, was a plain proof that mankind chearfully ſubmit to no laws but thoſe that are calculated for the good of ſociety; and that ordinances founded on the caprice of the ſovereign will always meet with the diſapprobation of his ſubjects.

As the diſcovery of America did great ſervice to the Spaniards, it likewiſe did them great prejudice. One was depopulating Spain by the number of its colonies; the other was infecting the univerſe with a diſeaſe till then known only in ſome parts of the new world, and eſpecially in the iſle of Hiſpaniola. Several of Chriſtopher Columbus's companions catched this contagion, and brought it with them to Europe. It is certain, that this poiſon, which infects

infects the source of life, was peculiar to America, as the plague and the small pox are distempers originally from South Numidia. We must not imagine, that the human flesh, which some American savages fed upon, was the source of this corruption. There were no cannibals in the isle of Hispaniola, where this disease was inveterate. Nor is it the consequence of debauch; excesses of this kind were never thus punished by nature in the ancient world: but now, after a momentary enjoyment, many years since forgot, even the chastest conjunction may be attended with the cruellest and most shameful scourge that ever afflicted human nature.

In order to see in what manner this moiety of the globe fell a prey to the Christian powers, we must follow the Spaniards in their discoveries and conquests.

The great Columbus, after making some settlements in the islands, and discovering the continent, returned to Spain, where he enjoyed a glory unstained by cruelty or plunder, and died at Valladolid in 1506. But the succeeding governors of Cuba and Hispaniola, believing that those provinces abounded with gold, resolved to purchase it with the blood of the inhabitants. In short, whether they imagined the aversion of those islanders to be implacable, whether they were afraid of their great numbers, or whether, when once the slaughter began, they could set no bounds to their fury, in a few years they depopulated Hispaniola, which contained three millions of inhabitants, and Cuba, that had above 600,000. Bartholomew de las Casas, witness of those barbarous depopulations, takes notice, that they went out with their dogs to hunt after men. The unhappy savages, almost naked and unarmed, were pursued like deer into the thick of the forests, devoured by dogs, and killed with gunshot, or surprised and burnt in their habitations.

This ſame ocular witneſs depoſeth to poſterity, that thoſe poor wretches received frequent ſummons, by a Dominican or a Cordelier, to ſubmit to the Chriſtian religion and the King of Spain; and after this formality, which was adding one injuſtice to another, they were butchered without mercy. I look upon de la Caſas's narrative as exaggerated in many places; but even ſuppoſe he ſays ten times too much, enough will remain to ſtrike us with horror.

It is a further ſubject of aſtoniſhment, that this total extinction of a race of men in Hiſpaniola ſhould happen under the eye and the adminiſtration of monks, of the order of St Jerome: for Cardinal Ximenes being maſter of Caſtile before Charles V. had ſent four of thoſe fathers as preſidents of the royal council of the iſland. Doubtleſs they could not ſtem the torrent; and the natives, with juſt reaſon, growing implacable in their averſion, unfortunately rendered their ruin neceſſary.

CHAP. XXIV.

Of Fernando Cortez.

IT was from the iſle of Cuba that Fernando Cortez * ſet out upon his new expeditions againſt the continent. This plain lieutenant of the governor of a new-found iſle, with leſs than 600 men, eighteen horſes, and a few field pieces, undertakes the conqueſt of the moſt potent ſtate in America. His firſt good fortune, is his meeting with a Spaniard who had been nine years priſoner at Jucatan, in the road to Mexico, and who underſtands the Mexican language. An American woman, to whom he gave the name of *Donna Marina*, becomes both

* 1519.

his

his miſtreſs and his privy council, and ſoon learns Spaniſh enough to act alſo the office of a faithful interpreter. To complete his good fortune, he diſcovers a volcano of ſulphur and ſaltpetre, whence he can ſupply his men with powder. He advances along the gulf of Mexico, ſometimes courting the friendſhip of the natives, and ſometimes committing hoſtilities. In his way he meets with civilized towns, where the arts are reſpected. The puiſſant republic of Tlaſcala, which flouriſhed under an ariſtocratical government, oppoſeth his paſſage: but at the ſight of the horſes, and the very ſound of the cannon, thoſe ill-armed multitudes were put to flight; upon which he concludes a peace as advantageous as he can wiſh. His new allies of Tlaſcala accompany him with 6000 men in his march to Mexico. He enters this empire unreſiſted, in ſpite of the prohibitions of the ſovereign. Yet this ſovereign had the command over thirty vaſſals, each of whom could appear at the head of 100,000 combatants, armed with arrows and thoſe ſharp flints with which they ſupplied the place of iron.

The city of Mexico, ſituated in the middle of a ſpacious lake, was the nobleſt monument of American induſtry. There were cauſeys of a great length carried through the lake, which was all covered with canoes, or little boats made of the trunks of trees. The city was admired for its large and convenient houſes built of ſtone, for its ſquares and market-places, for its ſhops, which glittered with gold and ſilver work of the fineſt ſculpture, with porcelain utenſils beautifully varniſhed, with cotton ſtuffs, with feathered tiſſues, whoſe patterns were diſtinguiſhed by the livelieſt colours. Near the great market-place ſtood a palace or court, in which juſtice was ſummarily adminiſtered to the merchants, as in the juriſdiction of the conſuls of Paris, which was not eſtabliſhed till after the down-

fall of the empire of Mexico, under K. Charles IX. The numerous palaces of the Emperor Montezuma added to the magnificence of the city. Of these one stood on columns of jasper, and was designed for containing only such curiosities as administered to pleasure. Another was full of offensive and defensive arms, mounted with gold and precious stones. Another was surrounded with spacious gardens, where they cultivated none but medicinal plants, which were distributed *gratis* by proper officers to the infirm. The King received an account of their success, and the physicians kept a register of them after their way, without being acquainted with the use of writing. The former species of magnificence shews only the progress of the arts, the latter denotes the progress of morality.

Were it not in the nature of man to unite the best with the very worst of qualities, we should never comprehend in what manner this morality agreed with those sacrifices where human blood was spilt with such profusion before the idol Visiliputsli, who was considered as the god of armies. Montezuma's ambassadors told Cortez, as it is pretended, that their master had sacrificed, during his wars, near 20,000 of his enemies every year, in the great temple of Mexico. This is a most exaggerated account, obviously designed as an excuse for the cruelty and injustice of the conqueror of Montezuma. But they say further, that when the Spaniards entered this temple, they found among its ornaments human sculls suspended as trophies. Thus it is, that antiquity represents the temple of Diana in Taurica Chersonesus. There are few nations whose religion has not been inhuman and bloody. The Gauls, the Carthaginians, the Syrians, were used to human sacrifices. Nay, they seem to be tolerated by the Jewish laws: for we find in Leviticus, *No devoted thing that a man shall devote*

devote unto the Lord, of all that he hath, both of man and beaſt, ſhall be ſold or redeemed; but ſhall ſurely be put to death *. The Jewiſh books relate, that when they invaded the little country of the Cananeans, in ſeveral villages they put men, women, children, and brute beaſts to the ſword, becauſe they had been devoted. On this law were founded the oaths of Jephtha, who ſacrificed his daughter; and of Saul, who, had it not been for the interpoſition of the army, would have ſacrificed his ſon. It is likewiſe this law that authoriſed Samuel to ſacrifice Saul's priſoner, King Agag, and to cut him in pieces: an execution as horrid and ſhocking as any of the moſt abominable barbarities of the ſavages, and which would have been an enormous crime, if God himſelf, the arbiter of life and death, whom no mortal can call to an account, had not ſo ordained, in the impenetrable depths of his juſtice. Beſides, it appears, that, among the Americans, none but enemies were ſacrificed. They were not cannibals, like ſome few of the American tribes.

In every other reſpect, their police was prudent and humane. The education of youth was their principal care. Public ſchools were eſtabliſhed for both ſexes. The ancient Egyptians are ſtill admired, for having known that the year conſiſts of about 365 days. Thus far had the Mexicans carried their aſtronomy.

They were acquainted with the military art; and by this they gained ſo great a ſuperiority over their neighbours. The great order in the revenue maintained the grandeur of the empire, which was looked upon with a jealous eye by all its neighbours.

But thoſe warlike animals on which the chief Spaniards were mounted, that artificial thunder

* Levit. xxvii. 28. 29.

which was formed in their hands, thoſe wooden caſtles which had wafted them over the ocean, the iron armour with which they were covered, the many victories obtained in their march, and ſo many other ſubjects of aſtoniſhment, beſides the natural imbecillity of the vulgar, which inclines them to admire; all this together produced ſuch an effect, that when Cortez arrived at the city of Mexico, he was received by Montezuma as his lord, and by the inhabitants as their god. They fell upon their knees in the ſtreets whenever a Spaniſh domeſtic went by.

Thoſe who conſigned theſe ſtrange revolutions to poſterity, have endeavoured to ſet them off with miracles, which, in reality, tend only to debaſe them. The real miracle was the conduct of Cortez. By degrees, Montezuma's court growing familiar with their gueſts, preſumed to treat them as men. Part of the Spaniards were at Vera Cruz, on the road to Mexico. One of the Emperor's generals, who had ſecret inſtructions, attacked them; and though his troops were defeated, yet three or four Spaniards were killed, and the head of one of them was brought to Montezuma. Upon this Cortez took one of the boldeſt ſteps recorded in hiſtory. He goes to the palace, attended with fifty Spaniards, and with Donna Marina, who ſtill acts as his interpreter; then, partly by perſuaſion, and partly by menaces, he carries off the Emperor priſoner to the Spaniſh quarter, obliges him to deliver up the perſons who had attacked the Spaniards at Vera Cruz, and puts the Emperor himſelf in irons, with as much eaſe as a general would puniſh a common ſoldier; and, laſt of all, he engages him publicly to acknowledge himſelf the vaſſal of Charles V.

Montezuma, and the chief nobility of the empire, in conſequence of their homage, agree to pay a tribute of 600,000 marks of pure gold, beſides

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an amazing quantity of precious ſtones, with curioſities wrought by the hands of induſtrious artiſts for many ages. Cortez ſet aſide a fifth part of this treaſure for his maſter, a fifth part he took to himſelf, and the remainder he diſtributed to his ſoldiers.

One of the moſt amazing circumſtances in this expedition, is, that the quarrels of the adventurers did not affect their conqueſts. Never was there a true hiſtory ſo improbable. While Cortez was juſt on the point of conquering the empire of Mexico, with 500 men, Velaſquez governor of Cuba, more diſpleaſed at the glory than at the diſobedience of his lieutenant Cortez, ſends almoſt his whole army, conſiſting of 800 foot and fourſcore horſe well mounted, and two ſmall pieces of cannon, to take Cortez priſoner, and to purſue his conqueſts. Cortez having, on one ſide, 1000 Spaniards to fight againſt, and on the other, the continent to keep in ſubmiſſion, left fourſcore men to ſecure the whole empire of Mexico, and marched with the remainder againſt his countrymen. Part of them he defeated, and the other part he brought over to his ſide. At length, this army which was come to deſtroy him, ſubmits to his commands, and marches with him to Mexico.

The Emperor was ſtill confined in his capital, guarded by fourſcore ſoldiers. Their commanding officer, whoſe name was *Alvaredo*, upon a report, true or falſe, that the Mexicans were plotting to ſet their maſter at liberty, had ſeized on the opportunity of a ſolemn feaſt, when 2000 of the principal lords were intoxicated with their ſtrong liquors; he falls upon them with fifty of his men, maſſacres them and their retinue without the leaſt reſiſtance, and ſtrips them of all the ornaments of gold and of precious ſtones with which they had bedecked themſelves on this occaſion. This enormi-

ty,

ty, which the Mexicans juſtly attributed to the thirſt of gold, raiſed the paſſions of thoſe meek people; and when Cortez arrived, he found 200,000 Americans in arms againſt fourſcore Spaniards, who were employed in defending themſelves, and in guarding the Emperor. They attacked Cortez to reſcue their king; throwing themſelves in crouds before the mouth of the Spaniſh cannon. This action Antonio de Solis calls a revolt, and this valour brutality; as if the injuſtice of the conquerors had been inherited by the hiſtorians.

In an encounter of this ſort died Montezuma, of a wound which he unluckily received from one of his ſubjects. Cortez, after having been the inſtrument of that prince's death, had the impudence to propoſe to him, that he ſhould die in the Chriſtian religion; and his concubine Donna Marina was to be his catechiſt. But the King died, in vain imploring the divine vengeance againſt the uſurpers. He left ſome children behind, that were ſtill weaker than himſelf, whom the kings of Spain have not been afraid to leave poſſeſſed of lands, even in the kingdom of Mexico; and to this day, the deſcendents in a direct line from this potent emperor live in the very capital. They are called the *Counts of Montezuma*; but they are no more than private gentlemen, of the Chriſtian religion, and live confounded in the croud. Animated with the deſire of revenge, the Mexicans created a new emperor. This was the famous Gatimozin, who met with a ſtill harder fate than that of Montezuma, after having armed all Mexico againſt the Spaniards.

Animated by deſpair, by the ſpirit of revenge, and by the moſt implacable averſion, the unhappy Mexicans ruſhed upon thoſe very men, whom they durſt not look at before but upon their knees. The Spaniards were tired with ſlaughter, while freſh crouds of Americans came on as faſt as their comrades

rades fell, without being in the leaſt diſmayed. Cortez was obliged to quit the town, where he would have been ſtarved; but the Indians had broke down all the cauſeys. The Spaniards made a bridge with the dead bodies of their enemies; and in their retreat they loſt all the treaſure which they had plundered for Charles V. or for themſelves. Upon their march, every day they fought a new battle, in which they generally loſt a Spaniard or two, whoſe blood was expiated by the ſacrifice of ſeveral thouſands of thoſe wretches, who fought almoſt naked.

Cortez had no fleet; but he made his ſoldiers, and the Indians that were along with him, build nine large brigantines, in order to return to Mexico over that very lake, which ſeemed to render it inacceſſible.

The Mexicans were not afraid to come to a naval engagement. The lake was covered with 4 or 5000 canoes, each containing two men, who fell upon Cortez's nine veſſels, which had only about 300 men. The Spaniards having cannon on board, ſoon defeated the enemy's fleet. Cortez and his men engaged the Mexicans on the cauſeys. The killing of twenty Spaniards in this battle, and the taking of ſeven or eight priſoners, was an event of greater importance to this part of the world, than the multitudes ſlain in our European engagements. The priſoners were ſacrificed in the temple of Mexico. But at length, after ſeveral other encounters, Gatimozin, and the Empreſs his wife, were taken priſoners. This is the Gatimozin ſo renowned for the ſpeech he made, at the time he lay ſtretched on burning coals, by order of one of the receivers of the King of Spain's exchequer, to oblige him to diſcover what part of the lake he had thrown his riches into: his high prieſt, who was condemned to the ſame puniſhment, making hideous cries;

Gatimozin

Gatimozin ſaid, *And do you take me to be upon a bed of roſes?*

Cortez becoming abſolute maſter of the city of Mexico *, the whole of the empire, ſuch as Caſtile d'or, Darien, and all the provinces, fell under the Spaniſh yoke.

What reward had Cortez for theſe extraordinary ſervices? The ſame as Columbus: he was perſecuted; and that very biſhop Fonſeca, the cauſe of the diſcoverer of America's being ſent back in irons, wanted to treat the conqueror in the ſame manner. In ſhort, notwithſtanding the titles conferred upon Cortez in Spain at his return, he was ſo very little regarded, that he could ſcarce obtain an audience of Charles V. One day he forced his way through the croud that ſurrounded the Emperor's coach, and got upon the ſtep. Charles aſked who that man was? "It is one," anſwered Cortez, "that has "given you more provinces, than you have towns "from your anceſtors."

CHAP. XXV.

Of the conqueſt of Peru.

CORTEZ having conquered for Charles V. above 200 leagues of territory in length, and above 150 in breadth, ſtill thought he had done but little. The iſthmus confining the continent of America between two ſeas, is not above five and twenty leagues over: from the top of a high mountain near Nombre di Dios, on one ſide you ſee the north ſea, on the other the ſouth. So early as the year 1513, the Spaniards ventured upon this ſouth ſea in ſearch of new conqueſts.

Towards the year 1527, two mean adventurers,

* 1521.

Diego

Diego Dalmagro, and Francis Pizarro, who had no knowledge of their parents, and ſo baſely brought up, that they could neither read nor write, were the men who conquered for Charles V. a much larger and richer extent of country than Mexico. After ſailing along the coaſt for above 300 leagues, they got intelligence, that towards the equinoctial line, and under the other tropic, there is an immenſe country, where gold, and ſilver, and precious ſtones, are as cheap as dirt; and that the country is governed by as deſpotic a king as Montezuma; for, all the world over, deſpotiſm is the conſequence of riches.

From the country of Cuſco, and the neighbourhood of the tropic of Capricorn, to the height of the Pearl iſlands, which is in the ſixth degree of north latitude, one ſingle king extended his abſolute ſway to the extent of near thirty degrees. This prince, named *Atabalipa*, was of a race of conquerors called *Incas*; his father, after ſubduing the whole country of Quito, now the capital of Peru, had employed his troops, and the conquered people, in making a great road of 500 leagues from Cuſco to Quito, through frightful precipices and lofty mountains. This monument of human induſtry and obedience has not been kept up by the Spaniards. Relays of men were poſted at every half-league, to carry the monarch's orders through his whole empire. Such was their police. And to judge of their magnificence, it is ſufficient to mention, that the King was carried in his progreſs through the country, on a throne of gold, weighing 25,000 ducats; and that the litter of gold plate, on which ſtood the throne, was ſupported by the principal perſons of the ſtate.

Francis Pizarro invaded this empire with 250 foot, ſixty horſe, and twelve ſmall pieces of cannon drawn by ſlaves from the conquered countries. He

ſails

ſails along the ſouth ſea to the height of Quito beyond the equator. Atabalipa was poſted towards Quito with an army of 40,000 men, armed with arrows, and pikes of gold and ſilver. Pizarro began like Cortez with a meſſage, offering to the Inca the friendſhip of Charles V. The Inca made anſwer, that he would agree to no friendſhip with the plunderers of his empire, till they reſtored what they had robbed upon the road; and immediately he marches againſt the Spaniards. As ſoon as the Inca's army, and the ſmall body of Caſtilians came within ſight, the latter wanted to have ſome appearance of religion on their ſide. A monk named *Valverda*, who had been made biſhop of that country, though it did not belong to them, advances towards the Inca with an interpreter, and a Bible in his hand, and tells him, that he muſt believe the contents of that book. He then preaches a long ſermon to him concerning the ſeveral myſteries of Chriſtianity. Hiſtorians are not agreed in regard to the reception this ſermon met with; but they are unanimous, that it concluded with a battle.

The cannon, the horſes, and the fire-arms, had the ſame effect on the Peruvians as on the Mexicans: the Spaniards had only the trouble of killing; while Atabalipa was pulled down from his throne, and loaded with irons.

In order to obtain his liberty, this Emperor promiſed a very conſiderable ranſom: according to Herrera and Zarata, he engaged to give as much gold as one of the halls of his palace could hold, and as high as his hand, which he raiſed in the air above his head. Immediately couriers ſet out on every ſide to amaſs this immenſe ranſom, and heaps of gold and ſilver were daily brought to the Spaniſh quarters: but whether the Peruvians were tired with ſtripping the empire for a captive, or whether Atabalipa did not preſs them, his promiſes were

not

not fulfilled. Upon this the conquerors grew outrageous; and the diſappointment of their avarice exaſperated them to ſuch a degree, that they condemned the Emperor to be burnt alive: the only grace they promiſed him was, that in caſe he would turn Chriſtian, he ſhould be ſtrangled before they conſigned him to the flames. This ſame Biſhop Valverda preached Chriſtianity to him by means of an interpreter, and baptized him: immediately afterwards the poor Emperor was ſtrangled, and thrown into the fire; though ſome ocular witneſſes, as Zarata, affirm, that Francis Pizarro was already ſet out to carry part of the treaſures of Atabalipa to Charles V. and that d'Almagro alone had committed this barbarity. That ſame Biſhop of Chiapa, whom I have already quoted, adds further, that this ſame puniſhment was inflicted on ſeveral generals, who, from a generoſity as great as the cruelty of the victors, choſe rather to ſuffer death than to diſcloſe their maſter's treaſures.

Yet, out of the ranſom already paid by Atabalipa, every Spaniſh horſeman had 240 marks in pure gold; every foot-ſoldier had 160: they divided about ten times as much ſilver in the ſame proportion; ſo that the horſeman had one third more than the foot-ſoldier. The officers acquired immenſe riches: to Charles V. they ſent 30,000 * marks of ſilver, 3000 of unwrought gold, and 20,000 marks of ſilver full weight, with 2000 of gold in the manufactures of the country. America would have enabled him to inſlave great part of Europe, and eſpecially the Pope, who adjudged this new world to him, had he often received ſuch tributes.

It is difficult to tell, whether we ought moſt to admire the courage of thoſe victorious diſcoverers, or deteſt their ferocity: both flowed from the ſame ſource, their avarice, which produced ſo much

* 1534.

good and so much mischief. Diego d'Almagro marches to Cusco through countries swarming with enemies whom he is obliged to beat off; and penetrates as far as Chili, beyond the tropic of Capricorn. Where-ever they go, they take possession of the country in the name of Charles V. But discord since possessed the conquerors of Peru, who fell into the same quarrels as those of Velasquez and Fernando Cortez in North America.

A civil war breaks out between Diego d'Almagro and Francis Pizarro in Cusco, the capital of the Incas. The reinforcements they received from Europe, are divided into two bodies, and chuse their respective chief. A bloody battle is fought under the walls of Cusco. The natives dare not avail themselves of the divisions of the common enemy: on the contrary, there were Peruvians in each army, who fought for their tyrants; and multitudes of them stupidly waited to see which party of their destroyers they must submit to, while each of those parties did not consist of above 300 men; so great is the superiority which nature hath given the Europeans over the inhabitants of the new world. At length d'Almagro was taken prisoner, and beheaded by order of his rival Pizarro; who was assassinated himself not long after by d'Almagro's friends.

The Spanish government was now assuming a settled form all over the new world. The great provinces had their governors. Their courts of audience, which are similar to the parliaments of France, were established: archbishops, bishops, courts of inquisition, and the whole ecclesiastic hierarchy, exercised their functions the same as at Madrid. Then those officers who had conquered Peru for the Emperor Charles V. wanted to take it to themselves. A son of Almagro set up for king of Peru; but the rest of the Spaniards chusing to obey their master in Europe, before their comrade,

seized

seized his person, and put him to an ignominious death. A brother of Francis Pizarro had the same ambition, and met with the same fate. The only revolts against Charles V. were those undertaken by the Spaniards, but not one by the conquered people.

While the civil war raged betwixt the contending parties, the mines of Potosi were found out, with which the Peruvians themselves had been unacquainted. It is no exaggeration to say, that the hill of Potosi was all entire silver; part of which remains to this day. The Peruvians worked at those mines for the Spaniards, as the real proprietors. Those slaves were soon assisted by negroes, who were purchased in Africa, and transported to Peru like brute beasts designed for human service.

And indeed neither those negroes, nor the inhabitants of the new world, were treated as human creatures. Las Casas, the Dominican, and Bishop of Chiapa, whom we have quoted more than once, seized with indignation at the cruelty of his countrymen, and moved to compassion at the extreme misery of such multitudes of people, had the courage to complain thereof to Charles V. as well as to his son Philip II.; and his memoirs are still preserved. He represents the generality of the Americans as a mild sort of people, and of weak constitutions; a circumstance which naturally fits them for subjection. He says, that the Spaniards viewed this weakness of constitution in no other light, than as an opportunity to destroy them; that in Cuba, in Jamaica, and in the neighbouring islands, they massacred above 1,200,000 men, just as huntsmen clear a forest of deer. *I have been present*, says he, *in the isle of St Domingo, and in Jamaica, when they have covered the country with gibbets, and hanged those unhappy wretches thirteen in a row, in honour, as they said, of the thirteen apostles. I*

have ſeen them give the infants to be devoured by their dogs.

A Cacique, or petty prince of the iſle of Cuba, whoſe name was *Hatacu*, having been condemned by the Spaniards to be burnt, for not delivering up all his gold, was conſigned, while they were lighting the fire, into the hands of a Franciſcan, who exhorted him to die a Chriſtian, promiſing he ſhould go to heaven. What! will the Spaniards go to heaven too? ſaid the Cacique. Yes, to be ſure, anſwered the friar. Ah, if it be ſo, let me not go there, replied the prince. A Cacique of New Granada, which is between Peru and Mexico, was publicly burnt, for not performing his promiſe to fill a captain's chamber with gold.

Thouſands of thoſe Americans were employed by the Spaniards as beaſts of burden; and when no longer able to walk, they were knocked on the head. In ſhort, the ſame ocular witneſs affirms, that in the iſlands, and on the Terra Firma, this handful of Europeans murdered above 12,000,000 of Americans. *In order to juſtify yourſelves*, continues this writer, *you pretend, that thoſe wretches had been guilty of human ſacrifices; that, for inſtance, in the temple of Mexico they had ſacrificed 20,000 men; I take heaven and earth to witneſs, that the Mexicans exerciſing the barbarous right of war, never ſacrificed 150 priſoners in their temples.*

From the whole that has been ſaid, it may probably be inferred, that the Spaniards greatly exaggerated the depravity of the Mexicans; and that the Biſhop of Chiapa was ſometimes too liberal of his invectives againſt his countrymen. The complaints of this humane prelate were not ineffectual. The laws ſince compiled for that country, have in ſome meaſure ſoftened the hardſhips of the Americans,

ricans, who are considered now as obedient subjects, but not as slaves.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of the first voyage round the world.

THIS mixture of greatness and barbarity raises our surprise and our indignation. The exploits of the conquerors of America, are stained with scenes of horror; but the glory of Columbus is unsullied. Such is the glory also of Magalhaens, commonly called *Magellan*, who first undertook to sail round the globe; and of Sebastian Cano, who first performed this great voyage, which in our days has ceased to be so surprising.

It was in the year 1519, at the beginning of the Spanish conquests in America, and in the midst of the great successes of the Portuguese in Asia and Africa, that Magellan discovered for the crown of Spain the streight known by his name, through which he entered the South sea, and sailing from west to east, found out those islands afterwards called *Marian*, and one of the Philippines, where he lost his life. This Magellan was a Portuguese, who had been refused an addition of six crowns to his pay. This refusal determined him to enter into the service of Spain, and to investigate a passage by the way of America, in order to share the possessions of the Portuguese in Asia. Accordingly, after his death, the rest of the crew made a settlement at Tidor, the chief of the Molucca islands, which produce the richest spices.

The Portuguese astonished to find the Spaniards in that country, could not conceive how they came thither by the eastern sea, when the Portuguese vessels were all obliged to sail from the west. They did

did not at all imagine that the Spaniards had made part of a voyage round the globe. A new geography was therefore wanting to settle the difference betwixt the two nations, and to amend the decree passed by the court of Rome, upon their pretensions, and the limits of their discoveries.

It is proper to observe, that when the celebrated Prince Don Henry began to extend the limits of the universe, the Portuguese desired the Pope would grant them possession of all they should discover. The custom still subsisted of asking kingdoms of the holy see, ever since Gregory VII. had claimed the right of bestowing them: by this step they thought to guard against any foreign usurpation, and to render religion instrumental in strengthening their new settlements. Several pontiffs therefore confirmed the rights acquired by the crown of Portugal, which indeed they could not wrest from them.

At the time when the Spaniards began to settle in America, Pope Alexander VI. divided the American and Asiatic new worlds into two parts: all to the east of the Azores was to belong to Portugal; all to the west was given to Spain: the limits of those respective rights were marked by a line on the globe, which was called the *line of partition.* Magellan's voyage disconcerted the Pope's division. The Marian, the Philippine, and the Molucca islands, were eastward of the Portuguese discoveries. There was therefore a necessity for drawing another line.

All those lines were again broke through, when the Portuguese landed in Brasil; neither were they more respected by the French or by the English, who afterwards made settlements in North America. True it is that they have only gleaned after the rich harvests of the Spaniards; however, they have established very considerable colonies in that part of the world.

One

One unhappy effect has followed from all these discoveries and transplantations; our trading nations endeavour to destroy each other in America and in Asia, so often as a war breaks out between them in Europe. They have alternately ruined their infant colonies. The design of the first voyages was to unite all nations; of those undertaken lately, to exterminate one another at the furthest extremity of the earth.

It is a very great problem, whether Europe has benefited by the discovery of America. There is no doubt but the Spaniards at first drew immense riches from thence; but their country has been depopulated, and this treasure being shared at length among other nations, the ancient equality is again restored. The price of provisions has every where increased. So that in reality no body has been a gainer. The question therefore is, Whether cochineal and the bark are of such considerable value, as to compensate the loss of so many thousands of men?

The End of the SECOND VOLUME.

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